MODERN STATE

OF

SPAIN:

EXHIBITING

A complete View of its Topography, Government, Laws, Religion, Finances, Naval and Military Establishments; and of Society, Manners, Arts, Sciences, Agriculture, and Commerce in that Country.

BY J. FR. BOURGOING,

LATE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM FRANCE TO THE COURT OF MADRID.

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MODERN STATE

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CHAPTER I.

Council of the finances of Spain. Taxes.

WE are about to enter upon the vast career of finances, of revenues, of imposts, of national debts, of public credit, &c.; a thorny path, which often exhausts the patience of administrators, and still more that of those under their control: dry details, that will perhaps fatigue the reader, to whom, however, I promise to be as brief as shall be consistent with accuracy.

The finances of Spain are under the direction of a sovereign and permanent council, called *Consejo Real de Hacienda.*

This *Real Hacienda,* the name of which alone awakens respect and a kind of religious terror, is not unlike the den of the lion, of which Lafontaine says:

. . . . . Dans cet antre
Je vois fort bien comme l'on entre,
Mais ne vois pas comme l'on sort.

abuses in its collection. In the *economia politica* of Zabala will be found those of 1734, and in the *instruction de Loynaz* those of 1747. They must be read in order to be convinced that wherever there are men there will be abuses, and to be a little less affected when we become their witness or their victim.

However, *Campillo*, who united in himself the whole ministry, and who to firmness joined a fund of knowledge, often interrogated these farmers respecting their receipts; who always pretended that they were losers. Campillo, to convince himself of the truth, put under administration six provinces of the twenty-two that compose the kingdom of Castille. La Ensenada, in 1747, extended this measure to all the others; and since that time all the finances of Spain, with very few exceptions, have been under administration.

Two years afterwards, Ferdinand VI. adopted a project which had been often discussed, that of converting into a single contribution the whole of what are called *the provincial revenues*. A commission was established in 1749 for this purpose, under the title of *sala de la unica contribucion*. It is asserted that nearly thirty thousand people are employed in it, and that it costs per annum more than three millions of French livres. Whilst it is waiting till the result of its labours shall repay such trouble and expense, the finances of Spain retain their defects, by which the people suffer, and under which

the good citizens groan, but which the kings of the present dynasty have never thought of changing.

They are divided into two classes, which embrace almost all the revenue of the state; *the general* and *the provincial rents.*

The first consist of the import and export duties received at the frontiers. The name and quota vary in different provinces. In those where the Moors remained longest, they have retained the Arabic name of *Almojarifazgo.* This was a custom-house duty which has been continually augmented, and on which transactions have been carried on with foreign commercial nations more or less advantageously. The same name is still used in the Canary Islands, where it produces to the king six per cent. on all merchandise.

Almost in every other province it has been successively raised to fifteen per cent. on all imports and exports. In Catalonia it amounts to no more than four per cent.

In Navarre, notwithstanding its privileges, five per cent. is paid on all that enters the frontiers, and three and a half on all that goes out.

By this first sample may be seen that the old finances of France were not the only ones that were complicated, varied according to place, harassed by exceptions, and given over to the caprice of receivers.

Besides these general laws, which embrace the

several, such as cacao, sugar, and pepper, that also pay particular taxes.

All the produce of these general revenues, when they were farmed, did not amount to more than twenty-six millions of reals (about 260,000*l.*) Some years afterwards they were put under administration, and produced forty millions of reals.—They have since increased in rapid progression.

At the expiration of the American war their produce was,

In 1783, eighty-six millions of reals.

In 1784, a hundred and twenty.

In 1785, more than a hundred and twenty-eight.

There are some other duties that may be classed with the general revenues, though their receipts are different; such are:

The duties at the office of health, first established at Cadiz, and since in several other ports.

The droits of the grand admiral, added to the revenues in 1748.

Those of the *Lanzas* and the *medias annatas*, noticed under the article of dignities, and which together produced, in 1787, about five millions four hundred thousand reals.

The duties on wool, paid on exportation according to quality. The farmers did not give twelve millions of reals for them. In 1777 this duty produced more than twenty, and in 1789 nearly twenty-eight millions.

The produce on the sale of salt also makes a

separate article. The salt in Spain is *en estanco*; that is to say, it is sold exclusively on account of the king in all his European dominions. The produce of this impost has been for a long time very indifferent. In 1785 it was scarcely sixteen millions of reals. At that time a measure weighing from sixty to eighty pounds paid not quite threepence sterling. But this price being raised, the revenues on salt amounted in 1789 to almost *fifty-six millions of reals*. Its produce has since been still augmented in consequence of the war having raised the price of salt. For in Spain, articles of the first necessity are, to the ruin of the country and the unhappiness of the people, those which, in any time of exigency, are the first burdened.

The price of salt is, however, the same throughout Spain. There are only some drawbacks allowed in the sea-ports on account of salting.

The salt-pits of Andalusia and the dry salt-pits are not sufficient for the consumption of the kingdom; and Spain receives a great deal of salt from Portugal. However distressing in general this tax on salt may be, in Spain it is much less so than in France. It seldom occasions seizures or executions; and in this article taxation is rather less oppressive than in others.

The *impost on tobacco* is a separate branch of the revenues of Spain. It has been under administration ever since 1731, and is managed separately.

In 1785 there were in Spain only two sorts of tobacco; that of Brazil for *smoking*, which the Portuguese, in virtue of a contract, delivered at two reals the pound, and which the king of Spain resold at forty; and that made into the *snuff*, known all over Europe by the name of *Spanish snuff*, and which comes from Cuba. The king pays a little more for it than that of Brazil. In 1785 he sold it at the same price of forty reals; out of which were to be deducted the salaries of those employed, and the expenses of the manufactories, the principal of which is at Seville; which raised the price to the king to eight reals per pound.

For a long time it has been prohibited, under the severest punishment, to use the snuff called *rapé*, in opposition to the true Spanish snuff, which, as is well known, is ground extremely fine, and to which is added a kind of ochre (*almazaron*), which produces its colour and its clamminess. In spite, or rather on account, of these rigorous laws, notwithstanding the vigilance of those employed, who on this occasion used the most revolting measures towards strangers, particularly those who arrived by sea, Spain was inundated with smuggled tobacco; and the only people who gained by the prohibition were those who sold under-hand, and charged up to a guinea per pound, for the risks they ran in flattering the decided taste of man for that which is prohibited.

This taste pervaded all classes of Spaniards, and particularly those who should have recommended abstinence from it by their example. The diplomatic corps were the only persons exempt from this rule; and for them an express permission from the minister of finance was indispensable, to enable them to enter the quantity of *rapé* necessary for their consumption. The two predecessors of the king had such an aversion to this snuff as bordered on madness; and those who in their presence had dared to use it ran the hazard of being disgraced *.

At last the Spanish government was convinced that the only means of putting a stop to the contraband, so ruinous to the treasury and to those engaged in it, was to manufacture the rappee snuff itself, and to sell it on its own account. No nation had such advantages for this sort of speculation:

* Charles III. had a particular liking for rappee snuff, but used it only by stealth, particularly in the chase, when he thought nobody saw him. The following is a proof how severe Ferdinand VI, otherwise humane and good, was reputed to be towards those who infringed the prohibition of tobacco. One day, in his presence, a grandee of Spain took out his box crammed with the prohibited snuff. The king darted a menacing look on the grandee. The ambassador of France (M. de Duras) perceived it, and, going up to the Spanish gentleman, said *Ah! I see it is your excellency that has my fox; I did not know what had become of it.* This well-timed expedient extricated the delinquent from his embarrassment and disarmed the monarch.

the culture of tobacco has succeeded in almost every one of her colonies; in Mexico, at the Caracas, at Trinidad, and particularly at Louisiana. In Mexico, where they began to cultivate tobacco only in 1765, the king drew from it in 1778 four millions of piastres, and more than six in 1784. The minister for the Indies, Galvez, proposed to employ the tobacco of Louisiana, which is cheaper and better, for the consumption of Mexico, and by little and little of all South America.

The sale of tobacco is one of the most considerable branches of the royal revenue. In 1776 it amounted to more than eighty-seven millions of reals; in 1777, to more than eighty-five; in 1784, about seventy-three. The introduction of rappee has rapidly increased the produce. From 1787 it has amounted to 129 millions of reals. It must have been much more considerable since the last war. The king, to keep pace with the expense it necessarily required, having been obliged to augment most of the interior taxes, raised the price of rappee snuff from twenty-six to forty-two reals the pound; and this augmentation will probably for some time survive its cause.

There are different sorts of this rappee manufactured in Spain, some of which are equal to the best of any other country; but this does not prevent their being sought after with as much avidity as before, as they have for the taste of the

amateurs a double charm, that of being foreign and much cheaper *.

Besides the salt and tobacco, there are some other objects in *estanco*. These are lead, powder, cards, sealing-wax, stamped paper. With respect to brandy and other spirituous liquors, the sale of them has been free since 1746; but the year after, a warehouse was established on account of the king, and every body, though at liberty to purchase elsewhere, preferred to buy at this warehouse, because the liquors are there cheaper and better. This, therefore, is a monopoly both pardonable and laudable.

I omit several other small local taxes, the detail of which would exceed the bounds I have prescribed to myself.

But that which is most fatal to Spain, in its system of finances, is the *provincial taxes*; a species of impost that embraces the consumption of the greatest necessaries. For two centuries, the good citizens have complained of this kind of impost. Even the government is convinced of its defects. The minister Campillo conceived the project of a total reform; but he was frightened by the embarrassments and dangers in its execution. La Ensenada, one of his successors, with more power

* For some years past the French snuff has been in vogue again, which must be attributed to the bad and adulterated quality of the Spanish.

and courage, went a little further, but we have seen that his *unica contribucion* was still nothing but a project.

The system of Spanish finances is unhappily so circumstanced that it requires a total change to produce amelioration. But the uninterrupted urgency in the wants of the state has never permitted it to commit its revenues to a trial, which might occasion troubles or have but doubtful success. We have seen in France what it cost M. Turgot and M. Necker, when they attempted a similar reform. To bring it about in Spain would require at once favourable circumstances, a sovereign and ministers that were not to be frightened by the clamours that such innovations always occasion, or otherwise it would require a French revolution. But every country is not equally disposed to provoke, nor equally fit to support one; and if Spain is destined to experience either this good or this evil, it will probably not owe it to its finances. Those that suffer most are too much scattered, are too little enlightened, have too few means of acting together, and are consequently too easily kept under, either by the troops or the influence of the clergy. France has given to sovereigns a lesson, by which they will not fail to profit, not to neglect these two means of strengthening their power. The more moderate, and the more benevolent, will, doubtless, endeavour to make their yoke supportable. They will lighten

the weight of taxes. They will avoid giving their subjects good reason to complain; but they will take care not to invite them to present petitions of their *griefvances*; and the States General of France have given a death blow to the Cortes of Spain.

In the mean time, until some cause or other shall work a reform in their finances, the Spaniards are subjected, with respect to taxes, to the most destructive treatment.

The provincial taxes are:—

1st. The produce of a tax on wine, oil, meat, vinegar, candles, &c. Philip II overwhelmed with the weight of ruinous and ambitious enterprises, proposed this tax to the Cortes in 1590. They agreed to it on conditions which have almost ever since been violated. This concession, which has ever since been prorogued every sixth year, and has experienced several augmentations, is known by the name of *service des millones*, because it was for a certain number of millions of ducats that it was made. The tax is gathered in two different ways, either directly by the administrators of the office of finance, or by means of compositions, *encabezamientos*.

This second method has no other advantage than to diminish the number of tax-gatherers; but is still more vexatious to the people. The payment of the sum for which a district has compounded is arbitrarily exacted by the municipal

body. They establish a public warehouse called *abasto*, where individuals are obliged to buy in retail all the articles subject to this tax. The people who are not so able to lay in provisions as those in easy circumstances, bear all the weight. Odious searches are made to ascertain that nothing is consumed but what is bought at the *abasto*. From hence result ruinous lawsuits, which sometimes double to an individual the sum of what would be his share in the composition of the town or district of which he makes a part.

2d. The provincial taxes comprise the *alcabale*, which is a duty on all sales of moveables as well as fixtures.

It was first granted by the Cortes in 1342. At that time it was only five per cent. on what was sold. In 1349 it was raised to ten per cent., and made perpetual. In the seventeenth century four additions, each of one per cent., were made, which gave it the name of *cientos*.

These united duties, which are paid under the name of *alcabala y cientos*, should produce fourteen per cent.; but the quota in one province or city varies much from that of another, according to privileges granted by the sovereign, who in some places has even alienated them entirely; they are paid scarcely any where to their utmost amount. According to Ustariz, and the observations I have been able to make myself, their mean rate is from six to seven. All these modifications, however,

do not prevent these taxes from being very hurtful to trade and industry.

3d. The *tercias reales* are imposts collected along with the provincial taxes; they are the two ninths which the court of Rome, in 1274, permitted the kings of Castille to levy on all the tithes of the kingdom. They are collected in kind on the produce of the earth, and are afterwards sold for account of the king. This tax scarcely produces six millions of reals, but might be much augmented if the government did not too implicitly give credit to the very fallacious declarations of the ecclesiastical boards.

4th. The *ordinary and extraordinary service*, and its *fifteenth in the thousand*, is a kind of tax paid only by that class of the common people in Spain called *estado general*. It is levied with the duties of *alcabala y cientos*, from an assessment made by the tribunals, according to the known capacity of all who are liable to pay it.

5th. There is another impost on the sale of soda and of barilla, and some other particular taxes which cannot have a place in this general view.

Further, the duties paid on entering Madrid form another source of revenue for the king; they are at present farmed by the community of *gremios* for the sum of seven millions and a half of reals. All these interior contributions of the provinces of the crown of Castille bring in from about 120 to 140 millions of reals.

The provinces of the kingdom of Arragon have a different mode of taxation. They are exempted from the *alcabale*, the place of which has been supplied by other equivalent taxes; they pay a fixed contribution, which each city, town, and district divides among its inhabitants. As these provinces were the last that acknowledged the authority of Philip V, this monarch, to punish them, deprived them of some part of their privileges, and subjected them to a mode of taxation different from that of the crown of Castille. But his intention was frustrated, and, in fact, they are better treated in this respect than the rest of the kingdom.

The provinces of the kingdom of Arragon are, however, subjected, as well as those of Castille, to the tax of the *tercias reales*, and are forced to take all the articles that are under *estanco* at a fixed price. Both kingdoms are equally liable to *the bull of the crusade*.

The original object of this bull was to allow indulgences to all the Spaniards who contributed towards the war against the infidels, either by personal services or by their alms. The produce of the bull of the crusade still retains the same destination, as the Spanish monarchs who receive it are obliged to consecrate it to the maintenance of their fortresses and garrisons on the coasts of Africa. Until the reign of Ferdinand VI. this concession of the court of Rome was obliged to

be renewed every five years; a subjection of which Philip V. felt all the weight, at three different times when his quarrels with the holy see deprived him of the renewal of the bull of the crusade. It was only by the concordat of 1753 that it was made perpetual. It has since become a permanent source of revenue; and if ever Spain, politically and humanely, should give way to a reconciliation with the infidels, as she did, under Charles III., with the Turks and some of the Barbary powers, this tax, though no longer the object of its first institution, would never be abolished.

The price of this bull is fixed at twenty-one *quartos* (about seven or eight pence sterling). No catholic whatever, inhabiting Spain, can dispense with buying it without making his orthodoxy suspected. Provided with this bull, and other indulgences attached to it, he has the power, with permission from his physician and confessor, to eat meat, and on fast days and during Lent to eat eggs and milk.

This kind of voluntary tax is levied by a magistrate called *commissary general of the crusades*; it produces about eighteen or twenty millions of reals.

The clergy are not exempt from it; and this is not the only tax they pay.

In the first place they are subjected to a part of the *millones*; but the pope must consent to it by a brief every sixth year. As there are many places

where no separate accounts for ecclesiastics are kept, they pay this tax the same as laymen; but whatever ecclesiastics consume in wine, bacon, or other articles on which the *millones* bear in their whole extent, is valued favourably, and they are reimbursed when they have paid above this valuation.

But it is here as elsewhere that might overpowers right; the clergy pay nothing, or scarcely any thing, on account of these *millones*, in small places, where they easily acquire the preponderance, and the whole burden falls on the people.

The clergy are further assessed with a small annual tax called *subsidio*.

But the most considerable of these contributions is that of the *escusado*, also called the *casa dezmera*, or tithe-house, because it consists of a tax granted by the holy see to the Spanish kings, of the tenth on all parishes, as well in Castille as in Arragon. This contribution, in its utmost extent, would be of great consequence to the Spanish treasury, but it has been subject to so many irregularities that its produce is greatly diminished. Under the reign of Ferdinand VI, government resolved to ascertain how much it would yield by a strict administration of several years. But before it was possible to acquire sufficient proof, the marquis Squilaci, on coming into office, farmed it out again; and although it had been proved in 1756 that singly in the kingdom of Castille it might be raised to six-

teen millions of reals, this minister farmed it to the company of merchants, vulgarly called the *gremios*, in Madrid, for twelve: since that time the greater part of the clergy have obtained power to manage it for their own account, and with an abatement of one third: therefore, in 1789 it did not produce ten millions of reals.

Notwithstanding these restrictions, if we observe that the *tercias reales* are still an indirect tax on the clergy, that the kings of Spain have the power to reduce by pensions almost all livings to one third of their income, we shall not be justified in saying that the Spanish clergy do not contribute to the expenses of the state. And moreover, on occasion of the war which terminated with the peace of Bâle, they have been, always with the consent of the holy see, more taxed than the rest of the people; and what they have paid extraordinary is estimated at thirty-six millions of reals. It is certainly but right they should do so. They succeeded too well in persuading the people of Spain that the cause of God was greatly interested in the war against France. I am in possession of the fact, that a general of their order seriously made an offer to the king in 1793 to levy a body of forty thousand monks, at the head of which he offered to place himself*. The offer was not accepted. But, as the Spanish clergy

* It was father Joachim Company, at present archbishop of Valencia.

could not be permitted to serve personally in this holy cause, was it not becoming at least, that out of their immense revenues they should contribute to the expense of a war of religion?

As a source of public revenue, Spanish America is perhaps supposed very abundant, but has hitherto been indifferent, unless we consider as derived from that source the duties on the produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, which the king receives, and those which the produce of the colonies pays on its entry into Spain.

For a long time the expenses attending the administration of these vast colonies absorbed all their taxes, and even more; and it is only since the ministry of Galvez that Mexico has yielded a profit by the project of farming tobacco and snuff.

The consolidation of all the duties and of all the contributions of which we have given a summary account produced no more in 1776 reals.

than 440,000,000

In 1784 the total of the receipts

was 685,068,068

In 1787 only 616.293,657

This is the statement of the account presented by the minister Lerena in 1789. This account, which will make an æra in the finances of Spain, though it be not the first of the kind, deserves some detail.

Lerena, who to his death was considered in-

capable, whose rapid and unaccountable fortune caused in 1785 an astonishment bordering on indignation, and who carried with him to his grave the public hatred, well deserved by his harshness, his violence, and by his persecuting, ungrateful and vindictive spirit,—this Lerena was at least firm and laborious. His *compte rendu* is a proof of it. It is not probable that he was the author of it; but it is at least an act of courage that he put his name to it, and adopted its principles and professions.

The new king, eager to make all the reform possible in his finances for the happiness of his people, having demanded every practicable decrease of the excessive number of those employed in collecting the taxes, was answered by Lerena in his summary account, that, considering their diversity and complication, no suppression of that nature was practicable.

To prove the inconvenience of what he called a *niggardly œconomy*, he cited the example of England on one hand, who, for the branch of customs alone, has no less than nine directors with large salaries; yet these, one year with another, produce as much as 3 789,27[illegible] sterling: on the other hand, that of our farmer general, who, having neglected to provide, conformably to the convention of the 15th Jan. 1787, expert persons to value the English merchandize, of which our treaty of commerce permitted the

entry, have diminished the revenue by two or three millions, have inundated France with a mass of English goods, and have thus given a violent shock to our own manufactories.

It was pretended that the salaries of the custom-house officers swallowed up at least half of the whole income. Lerena maintained it was a shameful calumny, and proved it by the following details:

	reals.
1st. The *general taxes*, to which are added the admiralty tax & that of health, employed 994 persons, and amounted to	159,108,172
Their total salary	5,375,127
To which must be added . . for the salaries of the *resguardo* of all the kingdom, who are somewhat similar to surveyors and searchers.	5,501,322
2d. The *duty on tobacco* produced in 1787	129,007,414
Its manufacture employed 4587 persons, whose salaries were . .	13,631,530
To which must be added . . as salaries for 13,575 retailers, who had ten per cent. on what they sold.	2.416,580
3d. The *provincial taxes* produced in 1787	122,867,678
The 3160 collectors received .	9,974,085
Lerena proved that, by useful reforms which he had made, this branch of revenue had increased .	14,350,124

	reals.
4th. The *taxes on salt* had produced	55,408,934
There were 1515 persons employed, which cost	4,676,844
5th. The *duty on the exportation of wool* had produced	27,449,246
Salaries for 221 employed in it .	635,943
6th. The *tax on powder*, including that of the copper mines of Rio Tinto, and that of making cards for Spanish America . .	8,468,124
Salaries for 290 persons employed	1,116,452
7th. The *tax on brimstone* produced	369,417
And 8 people employed cost .	14,650
8th. The *tax on quicksilver* and its accessories produced	436,844
On which 8 per cent. was left for the workmen.	
9th. The *tax on cards* for Spain was	1,072,649
The 11 persons employed cost .	44,944

After having presented this summary of the revenues received by means of the general directors and administrators, Lerena observed:

That the whole number employed in all the branches were 10,729, and their salary	37,199,970

	reals.
Thus this made, one with another, about 7 reals 13 maravedis per cent. on the total produce of these taxes, which was . . .	510,859,937
To these principal sources of revenue must be added 21 other articles that require a particular administration, and which produced in 1787	105,435,720
Expenses on them were . .	2,647,333

Which was about 2 reals 17 maravedis per cent.

Recapitulating all the preceding articles, it will be found that the expenses on collecting every thing were	40,483,248
And the total of the revenues .	616,295,657

Therefore the expenses in collecting are no more than 6 reals 14 marav. per cent.

There must, however, be added the maintenance of 3571 officers, as guards against smuggling, which amounted to	11,002,645.
Adding this to the preceding sum, we shall find the total expense of collecting	51,485,893

General recapitulation.

Employed for all kind of collecting	27,875 persons.

Their salaries amount to 51,485,893 reals.

Total revenue of the state . . . . . 616,295,657 reals.

Their collecting, therefore, costs very little more than the twelfth part.

Lerena afterwards triumphed in comparing these expenses with those of the same kind in England and France, where without doubt, said he, there are many defamers of the Spanish administration to be found; and the result of this comparison appeared astonishing even to the Spaniards themselves.

In fact, said Lerena, taking as an example the revenue of the customs in England, which, according to Smith, amounted to a sum which may be valued at . . . 246,966,000 livres.

The expenses of collecting them are 25,911,000

They therefore cost more than ten per cent.

Again in France, the revenue in 1789 being 544,800,000

And the expenses of collecting 57,665,000

they therefore absorbed also more than the tenth part of the total revenue. Lerena added that, at his coming into office, Spain had an annual deficit of 40 millions of reals; that he had augmented its revenue with more than 100 millions, and that he flattered himself to add 50 more. Death did not permit him to realize his brilliant hopes: however, the expenses in which Spain was soon after

involved would have made him renounce his expectation.

As for the rest of his memorial, it is nothing but a high-flown apology of courage and activity; it is a petty chef-d'œuvre of arrogance, where neither modesty nor restraint is discovered in his expressions injurious to the great, the ignorant, and the rich, amongst whom alone he assured the king were the calumniators of his administration to be found.

With respect to the picture of the revenues, this memorial wants nothing. One could wish to find there equally an account of its expenditure and of its debts. But this must be drawn from other sources.

	reals.
In 1776 the total expenditure was	505,586,474
Of this sum the army had cost	200,000,000
And the navy more than . .	127,000,000

It is true that this year the principal expenses were incurred by the navy in the short war with Portugal.

In 1777, the total expenses were only	476,385,565
Of which the army cost more than	210,000,000
And the navy little more than .	86,000,000
And as this year the total revenue had not been above	372,346,883
There was a deficiency of . .	104,038 681

Recourse was had to very ruinous and temporary expedients to remedy this in part. But

as preparations were then making for a war which ensued soon, they were obliged to adopt, although not better, yet more constant means, by an augmentation on the provincial taxes of 30,000,000

On the crown of Arragon . . 12,000,000

On the tax on tobacco . . . 2,000.000

But, as the collection of these could only be slow, successive, and probably incomplete, the minister was obliged in 1779 to borrow from the company of the *gremios* of Madrid an advance of 50 millions at three and a half per cent.

These means still being insufficient, they had recourse to the expedient of issuing royal notes, of which we shall speak hereafter.

In 1784, at the close of the war, reals.
the expenses amounted to . . . 685,068.068

And the sum raised by extraordinary means, to the same sum.

In 1786 the total revenue of
Spain was 615,335,147

And in 1787, as we have seen, 616,295,657

But the amount of the debts was 1,543,906,944

Let us now make a verification of them, and return to their origin.

CHAPTER II.

Antient and modern debts of Spain. Gremios. Royal notes. Projects for ameliorating the finances.

THE present royal family has inherited debts from its predecessor, which are known under the name of *juros*, and which bear an interest very moderate indeed. Still it is an annual burden upon the state of about twenty millions of reals, the payment of which is assessed on a variety of the branches of revenue.

Philip V. left debts to the amount of 45 millions of piastres (more than 168 millions of French livres, or seven millions sterling). At his death, Ferdinand VI. was frightened at such a burden. He was just, but feeble and scrupulous. He assembled a junta composed of bishops, ministers, and lawyers, and engaged them to pronounce *whether a king is obliged to discharge the debts of his predecessor.* The question was determined in the negative by the majority, the conscience of the king was quieted, and a bankruptcy resolved on.

Ferdinand pushed his ill-conceived œconomy still further. Solely occupied with saving, he suffered all the branches of administration, the

army, the fortresses, his possessions beyond sea, to languish. Therefore Charles III at his death found more than 165 millions of French livres, near seven millions English, in his coffers. He made it a duty to repair the fatal mistake of Ferdinand VI.; and paid, in the year 1762, six per cent. on account of the debts of Philip V., which he continued for five years successively. In 1767, the six per cents were reduced to four per cent. The year following sixty millions of reals were divided amongst the creditors. In 1769 they were obliged to discontinue the payments; which completely destroyed the credit of the royal effects. During my first residence in Spain, a man esteemed himself fortunate, if he could negotiate them at 80 per cent. loss.

There are, however, still certain opportunities to dispose of them with less disadvantage. Sometimes in treating with government on certain enterprises which it wishes to favour, an admission of some at par is obtained. They are also still received in payment of the *medias annatas*. But in all other cases but those, which are very rare, the debts of Philip V. are scarcely of any value. They bear no interest; and their payment, if that should ever happen, will be a long time, especially to foreign creditors. These, however sacred their titles, however powerful their intercessions, solicit in vain for an exception of the law, which excluded them from receiving any thing until the Spanish

creditors are entirely satisfied. They have frequently related to me the instance of Louis XV. who wrote himself to Charles III. to obtain an exception in favour of one of his valets de chambre; he indeed received a very civil answer, but entirely negative.

Charles IV., on coming to the throne, showed a desire of liquidating the debts of Philip V. and of Ferdinand VI. describing those which should be paid entirely, and those with which taxes might be paid. The execution of these measures was hardly begun, when preparations for an unnecessary war, and soon after the actual expenses of it, caused them to be suspended.

So many changes could not but enfeeble the credit of the Spanish government. Charles III., whose personal good faith inspired much esteem, made two very ineffectual trials.

In 1783 he endeavoured to negotiate a loan of 180 millions of reals, of which the creditors of Philip V. should be allowed a third at par. He thought by that to give them a very enticing form. The event proved the contrary. At the expiration of two years the loan produced scarcely twelve millions, and it was obliged to be given up. The foreign creditors were little tempted to run new hazards.—With respect to the Spaniards themselves, they are in general very little enterprising, nor inclined to any kind of stock-jobbing. They prefer a moderate but sure profit to such hazardous

speculations as elsewhere are pursued with avidity. They are, more than any other nation, attached to old customs.

Far from being tempted to place their money in foreign banks, they confine themselves to the company of merchants at Madrid, known by the name of the *gremios*, of whom we have spoken more than once before.

The *gremios* is a kind of public bank, where individuals place their money at the low interest of two and half per cent. The reason why they have obtained so much confidence is, that they are always supported by government, and the punctuality with which they have paid the interest of the capital confided to them: and although they often hazard enterprises perhaps beyond their strength, and are always in advance with government, yet nothing has as yet been able to shake their credit. They continue to farm the import duties paid at Madrid, a very small part of the *escusado*, and the principal manufactories in the kingdom. They have also for some time provisioned the army; and government, who in times of distress have often been assisted by them, have for a long time looked upon them as the principal pillar of the state.

Yet during some years it was attempted to do without them. Even necessity seemed to make it a law, at least for a time. At the beginning of the American war, the government, unprovided

with the extraordinary resources requisite for the display of their forces on both elements, and in both hemispheres, deprived of the periodical treasure from Spanish America, which they would not risk on account of the English privateers, had recourse to a measure hitherto unknown in Spain. They applied to several French bankers established at Madrid, to negotiate a loan of nine millions of single piastres, and issued paper money to that amount. This paper was divided into 16 500 notes or *vales reales*, to which an interest of four per cent. was attached. The government was blamed that they had not established at the same time an office where these notes might be paid at par when presented; but for this purpose a fund would have been necessary; and the issuing paper money showed that they had none.

The court of Madrid were blamed perhaps with more reason for having negotiated this loan on such disadvantageous terms, thereby betraying their embarrassments, which could not but shake the public confidence. The bankers who procured this loan on their own credit demanded ten per cent. commission, and had it. But in these cases the lender calculates his risk and the borrower his wants, and from this double calculation it results that one imposes and the other submits.

However that may be, no sooner was this arrangement known, than the alarm became general. It was said that no distress whatever could justify

this measure; a measure which sometimes had been adopted to pay pressing debts, but never to contract any. The foreign bankers, chiefly French, who had advanced this loan, and who took M. Necker, then minister of finance in France, for their organ, uttered their surprise even to disbelief. It was at first suspected that the Spanish government had conceived the idea of repaying in paper money, or the ridiculous hope of circulating it in foreign countries. It hastened, by effective reimbursements, to prove to these bankers, and to M. Necker himself, that their alarms had been groundless.

In the meanwhile the *vales* circulated in Spain: but the temptation of higher interest than the accustomary, was not sufficient to give them credit. They were reluctantly taken, but eagerly parted with. During the course of the war they lost at certain times up to twenty-six per cent., which occasioned high sensations. They forgot that during the same time the Americans struggled for their liberty, almost without any money at all, and their paper money suffering a loss of from forty to fifty per cent. They did not foresee that soon after a neighbouring nation, at strife with all Europe for the same cause, would lose on their paper money three and four hundred per cent., and survive the crisis.

The situation in which Spain now was, procured a new triumph to the *gremios*. The confidence

they enjoyed increased in proportion as the royal notes lost their credit. Their bank became an asylum where a man might place his money with perfect security, while nothing but distrust reigned in the royal bank.

In the meanwhile the necessities of the government increasing with the progress of the war, theyissued again, in February 1781, *vales* to the value of seventy-five millions of reals. Again the following year they created notes of 300 piastres, for the sum of 221,998,500 reals. They became therefore charged with a debt of 431,998,500 reals for this object only, without considering several others of less striking appearance, which made the total debt amount nearly to 800 millions of reals.

At the first issuing the royal notes, Charles III. had engaged himself to redeem a part of them. But as at the commencement of the war he had oppressed his people with an augmentation of taxes on articles of consumption, at the return of peace he thought it more advisable to disburden them of this load than to keep his word with the creditors of the state; and it was not until the month of June 1785 that he drew a million two hundred thousand piastres of royal notes out of circulation.

Some weeks afterwards, to every body's astonishment, a new issue of forty-eight millions of reals made its appearance. It is true that its only object was to make a capital for the continuation of

the canal of Arragon, the profit of which was to serve as a security; and it therefore could not be considered as an increase of the public debt.

The alarm which had affected the real royal notes dissipated by degrees; they became again at par; and towards the end of the year 1786 they were sought after, and were even negotiated with a premium.

The war which broke out in 1793 demanded new emissions. The royal notes were never less than at twenty-five and thirty per cent. discount at the most critical time: this must appear surprising of a paper which has no special security, and has no other guarantee than the precarious promise of an absolute government. After the return of peace, toward the middle of 1796, these notes lost no more than ten or twelve per cent. near the frontiers, and six or eight in the capital. Afterwards, on the appearance of a rupture with England, they lost eighteen per cent.; and it was predicted, in case the war should take place, there would be no bounds to their falling*. At that time there were in circulation *one milliard four*

* In fact, they lost in 1801 near seventy-five per cent. Since the signing of the preliminaries with England they have risen rapidly. So early as the month of March 1802, they lost no more at Cadiz than twenty per cent., and in the month of April they were done at Amsterdam at fifteen per cent. discount only.

hundred and ninety millions of reals; and far from being able to reduce this mass, they made a loan for 240 millions of reals at five per cent., in the beginning of 1796.

What lessons for governments! The suspension of several useful enterprises, the ravage of a part of three of her provinces, the death of from forty to fifty thousand of their men, the loss of a great colony, which to be sure did not prosper in their hands, the increase of taxes and of her debts, these were the gains of Spain, who was for a time drawn from her real interests, because she would resent the death of a king, and an outraged religion. At the time when war was determined on (I was a witness of it) the whole nation, with the exception of a few enlightened citizens, partook of the resentments of the court. The religious communities, the great, the rich proprietors, all made it a duty to second it with every effort. But the events of the war, almost always unfortunate; the tenacity with which we defended a cause the Spaniards had thought so odious; the want of rest after so violent agitations; the conviction, too late, of the little interest Spain had in meddling with the establishments of a neighbouring nation, its natural ally, cooled this first ardour. Indifference next, and soon after impatience took place; and never was a peace more desired, nor welcomed with

more transport, than that of which I was charged to make the basis at Figuières, and which was signed at Bâle the 22d July 1795, between the French republic and the king of Spain.

But let us return to the *vales*, or royal notes. After several extinctions* there remains at present (the beginning of 1805) to the value of from *seventeen to eighteen hundred millions of reals* (415 to 450 millions of French livres). But they are hardly any longer negotiable. They are taken in no transaction, and are not admitted in payment of any taxes. The dealers, in their bargains, stipulate for hard cash. The *vales* have now no other enticement than the four per cent. interest originally attached to their capital. They remain peaceably in the hands of their moderate holders, who content themselves with these means of placing their capital, and who now and then bring them into the market as they may be in want of ready money. They can therefore no longer be compared to that kind of paper money which has a forced exchange without any recourse to a public office for discounting them. When circumstances permit, a portion of them are successively extinguished. There is, even at the treasury, an office for this special purpose. This office, known by the name

* They began in 1799, and continued the five following years. On the 1st of January 1805 more than six millions were to be extinguished; but perhaps the war has prolonged that measure.

of the *chamber of consolidation*, sometimes endorses *the vales; and their whole value is paid when presented.* After that they appear no further in circulation: and the variations they experience are nothing more than very uncertain marks of the public credit; they indicate only that the means for liquidating them appear either less easy or less near. They fall therefore naturally when a war breaks out, or even when there is only an appearance of it. The unforeseen rupture of England with Spain in 1804 rapidly diminished their value. Some months after they lost fifty-two per cent. In the preceding war they were as low as seventy-five per cent. discount. But the return of peace, and particularly the arrival of the American treasure, so long suspended, may perhaps raise them again to par.

In the mean while, they have been to Spain a resource equivalent to a loan. They have indeed augmented its debts; but it is seldom that a great government contracts any that are less burthensome. Spain may find in the interior of the monarchy resources still less so. They have made a happy trial already, even during the calamities of the war terminated by the peace of Amiens. It consists as follows.

There is in Spain a prodigious quantity of lands, known by the name of *memorias y cofradias*. The first are foundations made in favour of churches, on condition of reading mass for the soul of

the founder. The *cofradias* are lands which the devout have consecrated to the particular worship of the Virgin and the saints. Too long the destinations of these lands have been considered as sacred. Under a government so little enlightened, so little spirited, these lands dared not to be touched; and if the Spanish nation had been generally so blindly superstitious as is believed, it would not have been attempted with impunity. This however is the measure which has been adopted about four years, and of which the happy effects have been felt since the month of November 1800.

These lands, paralysed by the piety of the faithful, inalienable like those of the ecclesiastics, were badly administered and still worse cultivated. The government has put them up to sale, and applied the money to the successive extinction of the royal notes. In the first months of the year 1802, these sales had already produced ten millions of piastres (about thirty-seven or thirty-eight millions of French livres).

Spain has gained by it in every respect; in spite of scruples, buyers have flocked in crowds to the sales. These lands, in the hands of their new proprietors, promise a double produce. This is a great step the Spanish government has made towards the amelioration of agriculture and the increase of population. A few more efforts

similar * in spirit, will rouse the country from its languor, which perhaps is more prejudicial than the mistakes of administration.

But in Spain more than elsewhere, courage should be tempered by circumspection. Innovations and changes are feared. Old prejudices are firmly rooted; and this has hitherto prevented the adoption of useful measures, by which the treasury might have been profited without the people suffering.

Under the reign of Charles III. it was more than once proposed to seize the lands of the four military orders, which, ill governed under the present state of things, would be more productive in the hands of the sovereign, and would procure him, besides an increase of revenue, the facility of reimbursing by pensions the commanders attached to those orders. But the scruples of the monarch prevented the admission of the project.

Another, not less reasonable, would be a general tax on all the lands in the kingdom, without excepting those of the clergy and the nobility. But the clamours and the intrigues of these two powerful bodies opposed such obstacles to this project, that the Spanish government could not succeed without calling in a dangerous assistance; and it will perhaps be obliged to draw from the

* At the beginning of 1805 it was determined that the lands of the monasteries should be put up to sale.

slow resources of œconomy, the advantages which it might obtain from a sudden though perilous revolution.

Under Charles III. the government, not discouraged by the reception given to the first essay of its reviving credit, lost no time in attempting a second, which should give to its paper money an advantageous opening, awaken the Spaniards from their apathy, draw from their strong boxes funds which slept without utility either to themselves or the state, and put them in circulation, to the benefit of commerce and industry. These were the great objects which he proposed in establishing in 1781 a national bank, that has scarcely any thing but the name in common with the other banks of Europe.

CHAPTER III.

Bank of Saint Charles. Specie. Money.

THE idea of a national bank was given to government by a French banker (M. Cabarrus) who began to ingratiate himself at the time of the creation of paper money. He added to a lively and fruitful imagination talents which he had cultivated in silence until the period which brought him into notice. The favour of the minister would not have been sufficient to have shielded him against the many obstacles he was obliged to surmount. In a career where thousands opposed him, he has gathered, if not glory, at least reputation, and a considerable fortune, which the persecutions he has since suffered have no doubt diminished. Nothing but a blind partiality could attribute the success of his scheme to mere fortune. M. Cabarrus has had very warm friends and very inveterate enemies. This is not the lot of ordinary men.

In 1781, after having reflected on the resources so long unproductive to Spain, to put them in a state of activity, he proposed a plan for a national bank.

The principal object of this bank was to employ

a strong fund either without or with very little interest. In this view, an office was established to discount at four per cent. all letters of exchange drawn on Madrid. This resource was very moderate. Madrid, properly speaking, is not a place of commerce. The price of the wools which Spain exports is the principal article paid there; and this alone could not furnish a beneficial employment to the funds of the new bank of Saint Charles.

It was proposed to add the profits of the *real giro*, a kind of particular chest from which the court drew those funds it wanted to send abroad, to pay its agents there, or for other purposes. This also was but a feeble resource. There circulated by means of this *real giro* no more than about two or three millions of French livres per annum.

But the principal source of the profits of the bank was to be the provisioning of the navy and the army. The first had been hitherto divided between several individuals. The second was in the hands of the *gremios*, and the contract with government was just expiring. The bank therefore might take immediate possession of these different enterprises.

The government was flattered by the idea of dividing between a great number of citizens, the profit which had hitherto been concentrated in a very small number. The capital of the bank consisted of 300 millions of reals divided into 150

thousand shares of 2000 reals: and as all persons had the power of purchasing these shares, nobody was excluded from the profit expected. Besides the unemployed capitals which they were going to make productive, it was expected that many of those which received so moderate an interest in the *gremios* would be lodged in the chest of the bank. The overplus of the grants of the communes was administered by the council of Castille. The bank immediately added these funds for the benefit of those concerned. And lastly, there are in almost every community of Spain magazines for grain, or *positos*, the surplus of which is converted into money. This was still one more unemployed fund which the bank could put into action.

Thus she promised great advantages to all classes of the nation; and it is not surprising that the ministry approved the project.

It was discussed and adopted by a great majority, in an assembly of the principal administrative bodies. The contract for provisioning the navy and the army was demanded by the bank; but it could only obtain the superintendancy, and it was agreed to pay 4 per cent. on all its advances, and 10 per cent. commission. Such attractions appeared to seduce a great many people. However, the greater part of speculators remained cold at this brilliant prospect. Few people drew their money from the *gremios*. This community was

only obliged to raise their interest to three and a half per cent.

The bank had many puffers, but they were suspected. Their antagonists, armed with pretensions of the public good, declaimed loudly. They nourished a mistrust to which anterior events had given birth, and they made many proselytes.

The new establishment had immediately for enemies, all those who are averse to novelties, those who did not agree with the calculations of the bank of Saint Charles, those particularly who were actuated by jealousy and national antipathy to a young foreigner favoured by government. He takes advantage, said they, of an ephemeral credit to overturn a nation who could find amongst themselves citizens properly qualified to enlighten them on their true interests. The parallel which they had already drawn between the creation of paper money and the famous system of Law was then recollected. In France, an ambitious stranger gave a mortal stab to our credit, in attempting to make it flourishing. In Spain, it was also a stranger who pretended to re-establish credit and commerce, and who aspired to seduce a nation by the charms of a chimerical gain; both held forth the idea of a bank. The resemblance therefore was perfect. It is thus that most people judge. Malevolence asserted, credulity and ignorance reiterated, that the bank of Saint Charles presented nothing but an illusive plan

of operation, or at least unnecessary to the prosperity of Spain; that instead of favouring liberty of commerce, it would become its bane, as well as that of agriculture and industry; that it naturalized in Spain an evil hitherto unknown, a class of useless annuitants, who in an opulent laziness lived proudly on the labours of their neighbours; that, after having affixed the hatred of exclusive privileges, it sued for the most odious monopolies.

What served for a pretext to this last accusation, was a grant the bank obtained soon after its establishment, that of being exclusively charged with the extraction of the piastres. It is well known that the portion of this money which does not remain in America, and which is not extracted by smuggling, arrives in Spain to pay for all sorts of merchandise which that country receives from strangers.

The extraction of piastres for this purpose was of an indispensable necessity. In times less enlightened, the Spanish government, to augment the revenues, determined to subject it to a duty of three per cent., which in 1768 was raised to four per cent.; and although it is at present convinced by experience that this duty is an additional tax on the people, to whom foreigners charge their goods four per cent. dearer; yet the situation of the finances, and some remains of old prejudices, have not as yet induced them to repeal it. It results from thence that this duty, being high enough to hold out

a temptation to smuggling, is evaded by a variety of ways; that although the whole quantity of piastres necessary to pay the balance of Spain is exported from America, yet the government is defrauded of a part of its revenues.

The bank pretended to obviate some of these inconveniences, by demanding the exclusive right of extracting the piastres. They hoped, as they said, to prevent by this the high price of specie, a necessary consequence of a multiplicity of merchants, and to diminish the fraudulent exportation by an additional vigilance which could not be expected from the agents of government.

This new request was consented to, and they stated that, in order to facilitate to the bank the means of averting the speculations of contraband, it should be prohibited from exporting piastres, unless by special leave, by any other channel than that of Bayonne; and that all who had to send them abroad should take bills of the bank.

In spite of numerous reclamations, the greater part excited by personal interest, the bank of Saint Charles took possession of it's privileges in the month of November 1783. The first use they made of it was very advantageous. The return of peace produced a prodigious circulation of piastres. In 1784 the bank exported to the amount of more than twenty millions; and in 1785 nearly twenty-two. The revenue gained by this arrangement. The duty on the extraction of piastres had

never produced more than six millions and a half of reals; in 1784 it exceeded fifteen, and in 1785 sixteen millions of reals. Then it was that ignorance was cleared away, that malevolence was silenced, and the bank triumphed. The single article of piastres produced a profit of near twelve millions of reals to be divided amongst the holders of shares.

In the mean while they obtained the contract for provisioning the army and the navy. The first dividend, that of 1784, felt the effects of this: it produced nine and a half per cent.

The triumph of the bank was then complete; and as men in every country run to extremes in every thing, they passed rapidly from aspersion to enthusiasm. The bank profited by this change, to raise at different times the price of the shares which remained with them unsold, and thus to obtain new acquisitions for the succeeding dividends. The fermentation, extended to foreign countries, now produced the utmost ebullition of stock-jobbing. In a little time the shares had risen in France, at Geneva, and elsewhere, to 3040 reals; and the Spaniards, less confident or more provident, fed this inconsiderate ardour of foreigners to the utmost of their wishes.

It was temporary, it is true, but lasted long enough to produce in many fortunes a destructive revolution. Some people took upon themselves to cool it. Mirabeau particularly, *this fomenter of public opinion* as he called himself, opposed the

bank of Saint Charles with a violence so usual to himself. He condescended to write a large volume, in which he lavished maledictions and the most unfavourable predictions on the bank of Saint Charles, and gratuitous abuse on its founder. In continuation, he maintained that the great commercial nations ought to fear lest their moneyed men interested themselves in the bank of Spain, for they had need of all their resources to diminish the burden of their own debts; and *that individuals who exposed their fortunes in so hazardous an enterprise, behaved like bad citizens considered as members of the community, and like infatuated men as fathers of families.*

The court of Madrid ordered this philippic of Mirabeau to be prohibited by the council of Castille; which however did not much lessen its effects. The enthusiasm of the jobbers cooled, and has since only emitted very feeble sparks. A very great number of shares in the bank have been returned from foreign countries to Spain. The directors of this establishment repurchased to the amount of thirty millions in 1787 and 1788, so that there are now no more than a hundred and twenty millions in circulation.

Four years after its institution M. Cabarrus thought of creating a new source of profit by connecting it with a company of the Philippines, of which he had also just laid the foundation. He induced the holders of shares in the bank to

throw 21 millions of reals deducted from the dividend in 1784, into the funds of this company. Whatever has been or may be the success of this new establishment, the measure cannot injure the capital of the bank.

The time of the infatuation is past, perhaps never to return; that of discredit must take place, and the public opinion appears at last to be fixed concerning it. It is avowed, in spite of the authority of Mirabeau, that without ceasing to be a good citizen or a good father a man may place his money in the bank of Saint Charles; for it must now appear established on a solid foundation, since it has resisted the storms that assailed it in its infancy.

Since 1785 almost all its assemblies have been tumultuous. Lerena, who at that time came to the management of the finances, began his reign by showing a strong prepossession against the author of it. He spread evil reports against the old governors, dismissed them in a shameful manner, and supplied their places with their enemies. He deprived the bank of the contract for provisioning the army and navy, (though by their treaty it was to last three years longer,) the profits of which might have repaid the losses experienced for some years past; and he confided the administration of it to the community of *gremios*, that waited impatiently for vengeance. So many proofs of malevolence discredited the shares of the bank in

such a manner, that in 1791 they were sold with difficulty for 1800 reals, including the dividend.

The animosity of Lerena did not stop there. Jealous of the credit and the success of M. Cabarrus, whom he regarded as a dangerous rival, irritated by the very unceremonious language this gentleman indulged himself in against the minister, M. Cabarrus was so harassed by chicane, that in 1790 he was obliged to resign his place of perpetual director of the bank. This was not sufficient. Lerena soon after seized the pretext of an insignificant letter he had written to one of his friends, and caused him to be arrested. This detention lasted more than five years; and the minister Lerena, equally apt to enjoy as to inspire hatred, had the consolation of leaving his enemy in captivity when he himself departed from the world. His successor, M. de Gardoqui, had this injustice to repair; but whether from want of credit, or from lukewarmness, he was not very quick in fulfilling his task. The cause of M. Cabarrus was conducted with all the tediousness common in Spain, and which was rendered still more dilatory by the machinations of secret malevolence. At last, in the year 1796, he obtained slow yet brilliant justice. He was acquitted of every charge brought against him, reinstated in all his places, and authorized, at the expense of his persecutor, to sue for the losses which his fortune had suffered during his long imprisonment.

But since 1796 M. Cabarrus has again experienced great vicissitudes. He had been honoured with the title of count, and in a little time had recovered almost all his old influence in the bank of St. Charles, which had been of his creation. At an assembly held in his presence, they promised to abjure all hatred towards him, in order that no unpleasant consequences might affect their proceedings. By forming a connexion with the Prince of Peace he had recovered a great part of his credit; and this prime minister in some measure paid a deference to his advice, by bringing into the ministry don Francisco Saavedra and don Gaspar Jovellanos, two men pointed out by public opinion rather than by friendship.

Count Cabarrus was afterwards charged with a mission abroad of some consequence. At his return to Spain it was thought (his enemies pretended that he caused it to be circulated) that from certain connexions he had at Paris, he would be very proper to fill up a principal embassy then vacant in Spain.

He was appointed ambassador to France, where he went to display his new character; when it was remarked to the executive directory, that being born a Frenchman he could not represent a foreign power in his own country, and his admission was rejected.

The affront thus offered to him afterwards proved highly injurious: from that time he de-

clined in favour, and even sunk into a kind of disgrace. After having travelled for some time he returned to Spain. His enemies had profited by his absence, and he soon saw that a philosophic retreat was best suited to his situation. He settled at some leagues distant from Madrid, on an estate where for several years he was engaged in agriculture, and in establishing useful manufactures. But new storms again troubled his tranquillity, and obliged him to repass the Pyrenees. At the end of 1804 he for a time settled at Toulouse.

The bank which he founded, has indeed experienced many vicissitudes. At first it was entirely independent of government; fifteen years afterwards it was wholly in its hands. The court has appointed a judge, and has the greatest influence in the nomination of its directors. This has not failed to affect its prosperity. During the war with France its shares were with difficulty negotiated at 1500 reals. Notwithstanding, with the exception of one of the last years, it has constantly paid a dividend of six, five and a half, or at least four and a half per cent.; which is hardly credible after the many diminutions it has experienced in its profits. It discounts few bills of exchange. The payments it makes for government abroad can be accounted for nothing. The provisioning the army and the navy has been entirely taken from it, and there remains nothing more, to make the profits any way considerable, than the extraction of the piastres.

This then is the bank of St. Charles, more famous than it deserved to be. It has justified neither the pompous promises of its founders, nor the sinister predictions of its enemies. But it must be owned, every thing considered, that it had more advantages than inconveniences. It has electrified many a head that seemed destined to remain paralysed. It has developed and put in action talents which were never expected. It has thrown into circulation many a hoarded and unemployed capital.

This leads us to say a few words of the specie and of the money of Spain.

It is not easy to know exactly the specie that circulates in Spain. She has under her dominion the mines of all the metals which she converts into money. This coined metal cannot leave America without paying a duty, which is repeated when imported into Spain, and again a third time when exported into foreign countries. It would appear from this combination of duties, that it was easy to give an exact statement of the existing specie in the kingdom. But of this money coined in America a great part goes from thence directly in contraband into other countries of Europe; another part goes fraudulently out of the country to pay for foreign merchandize, before it has reached Spain; and lastly, as very little melting is practised in Spain, we have not sufficient vouchers to determine the specie in circulation.

A little while before his death, Musquiz, who

had had the direction of finances, either as chief clerk or minister, during almost twenty years, was not even able to estimate it *any way near*. He confessed it one day in my presence before several Spaniards more informed than himself; and it was from this discussion that I learned that the specie circulating amounted to about EIGHTY MILLIONS OF HARD PIASTRES. Spain was at that time involved in an expensive war, but had not yet attempted the ruinous attack on Gibraltar. Since that time she has made, or at least prepared, some military operations, the consequence of which has been their entire annihilation, or the payment out of the country of capitals which have never returned. In the very short war with France she has suffered such losses as cannot be repaired for many years; and that which followed soon, in suspending all the means of prosperity, added to the embarrassments of the country. Yet as, since 1782, her commerce has been extended, and the produce of her mines has been more abundant, Spain might still have about the same quantity of specie as at that time. It may perhaps be difficult to conceive how Spain, in possession of almost all the silver and a great proportion of the gold mines, should be reduced to such a moderate quantity of specie, especially when it is recollected that under the reign of Charles V. she had almost all the gold and silver of Europe, and, what is

much more valuable, the production of her own territory and her own industry, so as to do without the assistance of any other nation.

How, in one century, could she fall from such a state of splendour? To what are we to attribute a revolution so rapid and so complete?

To a variety of causes, I answer: First, it was the abundance of these metals that caused the rise in the articles of consumption and of labour.

It is owing to the decay of their manufactures, which was the consequence of it; to her depopulation, caused at once by the numerous emigrations to America, to the expulsion of the Moors, and to that of the Jews.

But above all it is owing to the ruinous wars undertaken by Philip II. against the Netherlands, and which, from the year 1567 until the end of 1612, cost no less than two hundred millions of piastres.

But, if Spain preserve peace for several years, if her government second the tendency apparent in the modern Spaniards towards all useful enterprises, she will no longer see the greatest part of her money go to foreign countries to nourish the industry of strangers, and to receive new impressions.

The first money coined in America, whether gold or silver, was uneven on the edge as well as in the impression, which was on one side a cross

and on the other the arms of Spain. Some of them are still in circulation.

The impression afterward varied until 1772, the epocha of a new coinage, which all bear, on one side, the head of the sovereign, and on the other the arms of Spain.

We shall now give an exact view of the different kinds of money, gold as well as silver, coined either in Europe or in America.

Ancient money that is no longer coined in the dominions of Spain, but which is still in existence.

GOLD COIN.

Names.	*Value.*
The piece of four pistoles cut, *onza cortada*	321 reals 6 marav.
Half piece of four pistoles cut, *media onza cortada*	160 20
Pistole of gold cut	80 10
Half do. do.	40 5

This is the valuation of each of these pieces in general; but as from their form they are liable to be diminished without its being perceived, they are not taken without weighing, and whatever is deficient in weight is deducted from their value. You cannot, therefore, value them exactly by any other coin, nor fix their intrinsic contents in marks of gold.

There are still some pieces of each of the four described, which, although with an edge, are nevertheless weighed. They are distinguished by a cross instead of the head of the sovereign.

Gold coin edged, but which, since 1772, is no longer coined.

Names.	*Value.*		*Value in French money.*		
	reals.	marav.	liv.	s.	d.
A piece of four pistoles edged, anterior to the year 1772	321	6	80	5	$\frac{1}{17}$
Half of do.	160	20	40	2	$\frac{12}{17}$
Gold pistole do. . . .	80	10	20	1	$\frac{5}{17}$
Half do.	40	5	10	0	$6\frac{5}{17}$

Silver money no longer coined.

The old piastre cut, valued at	20 reals.	These four pieces are in the same predicament as the four pieces of gold cut.
Half do.	10	
The old pezetta cut . . .	5	
Half do.	2 17 m.	
The old piastre edged, but bearing 2 crowned globes, value like those cut, and that of the new coin . .	20 reals.	
The half of the above . .	10	

Money of the new coinage.

Names.	*Their value in reals de vellon and maravedis.*	*Their value in French money at par.*	*How much in the mark of this money.*

GOLD MONEY.

	reals.	mar.	liv.	s.	d.	
The quadruple, or ounce of gold called in Spanish *doblon de a ocho onza de oro,* or vulgarly *medalla* . .	320	. . .	80	. . .		8½
The half of the above, or *media onza*	160	. . .	40	. . .		17
El doblon de oro, or gold pistole	80	. . .	20	. . .		34
Half of do.	40	. . .	10	. . .		68
Small golden dollar, or *veinten,* vulgarly called *du ito*	21	. 8 .	5	5	.	129 at least.

SILVER MONEY.

	reals.	mar.	liv.	s.	d.	
The hard piastre, *peso duro* or *peso fuerte,* vulgarly called piastre gourde . .	20	. . .	5	. . .		8½
Half-piastre	10	. . .	2	10	.	17
Pezeta columnaria . . .	5	. . .	1	5	.	34
Media do	2	17	0	12	6	68
Realito columnaria . . .	1	8½	0	6	3	136

N. B. These three last pieces are only coined in America. They are edged, and have on one side the arms of Spain, and on the other two globes surmounted with a crown placed between two columns.

	reals.	mar.	liv.	s.	d.	
The common *pezeta* . .	4	. . .	1	. . .		41
The half of do. commonly called *real de plata* . .	2	. . .	0	10	.	82

	reals.	mar.	liv.	s.	d.	
The *realito* or *real de vellon*, which is pronounced *veillon*	1	. . .	0	5	.	164

COPPER MONEY.

The piece of two *quartos*	$8\frac{1}{2}$	.	0	2	6	$19\frac{1}{9}$
The *quarto*	$4\frac{1}{4}$	.	0	1	3	39
The *ochavo*	$2\frac{1}{17}$	.	0	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$	78
The *maravedi*	$1\frac{1}{34}$		0	0	$3\frac{3}{4}$	208 nearly.

The greatest part of the gold money is coined in America. Very little of it is exported from thence, and that serves to pay the balances due to Seville.

The silver moneys coined in America have for signs, on one side, the Spanish arms between two columns, and on the other, a wreath of laurel round the king's head, to indicate that the sovereigns of Spain are the conquerors of America.

Those that are coined in Europe have only the escutcheon, without the columns, and the head of the king without wreaths.

There are several mints at Peru. The most known is that of *Potosi*. There is one at *Santa Fe de Bogota*, one at *Santiago de Chili*, and one at *Mexico*. From this last the greatest quantity of piastres are exported to Europe.

Each of these mints has its particular distinction; Mexico has a capital M surmounted with a little *o*.

In Europe there are but three; that of Madrid, of Seville, and that at Segovia. The mark of the first is an M crowned; that of the second an S; and that of the third a little aqueduct of two stories; but for several years that at Segovia has coined nothing but copper.

Besides this there is in Spain ideal money, of which some are moneys of exchange. These are:

The *single pistole*, or *doblon*, value four single piastres, or about fifteen French livres when the exchange is at par. By this ideal money the exchange between France and Spain is settled.

The single piastre, or *peso*, which is called *peso sencillo*, to distinguish it from *peso fuerte*, is worth fifteen reals, or three livres ten sols.

The dollar of *veillon*, also an imaginary coin, by which sometimes the revenue of the crown is reckoned, is worth ten *reals de veillon*, or the half of a hard piastre.

The *ducat*, another ideal coin, serves to value the revenue of individuals and the salaries of those employed in the administration. It is worth eleven reals.

We shall not speak of some other imaginary coins which are only known in the provinces, such as the Catalonian livre, the livre of Valencia, &c.

Spain has constantly refused to alter the names of her coinage. She has conceived that the least variation, the least uncertainty in this respect,

would influence, in a dangerous manner, all the commercial transactions of the world, which receives from this state the greatest part of the metals that are used. However, in 1737, having observed that the hard piastre bore not a proportionate value to the difference that existed between the gold and the silver, she fixed its value at twenty reals. The equilibrium which she wanted to establish being again deranged, the gold did not keep its proportion to its abundance. There was too much advantage in exporting it in preference to silver. If Spain had not remedied this inconvenience, she would entirely have been deprived of her gold. She therefore raised the nominal value of all the gold coin a sixteenth, without changing either the weight or the name. By this means the quadruple, or *doblon de a ocho*, which had hitherto been valued at only fifteen hard piastres, was fixed at sixteen; and so in proportion with all the other gold coin. Nations who possess the metals give law to others, as to the name of their money: those who do not follow it become victims one time or other; and it was this that determined the French government to diminish somewhat the weight of their gold coin without changing the names.

There is a particular court that regulates and judges all business relative to money, under the name of the *real junta de commercio, moneda, minas*, &c. This *junta*, composed of several mem-

bers of the council of finances, of one of the council of Castille, and of two of that of the Indies, is arbitrary, and as independent as the other sovereign councils of the monarchy.

We refer to the seventh chapter the details of the produce of the American mines, in order to finish what we have to say concerning the administration of the metropolis.

CHAPTER IV.

ncil of war and its dependencies. Military rank. The duke de Crillon. Infantry. The mode of recruiting. Quintas. *Militia. Cavalry. Scarceness of good horses. Artillery. Engineers. Military education. Count Oreilly. Military rewards.*

THE *council of war* is at the same time a tribunal and a permanent body of administrators. The king consults it commonly on the ordinances relative to his troops. Until the reign of Philip V. it nominated to superior ranks in the military hierarchy. But the present dynasty, disentangling itself from all restraint that fettered its power, has possessed itself of this prerogative of the council of war. The king nominates to all the employments in his army, on the presentation of the inspector of each division. The inspectors also sometimes pursue measures without consulting the council of war; but even then, for form's sake, it gives its sanction to those measures. It was thus that the French parliament formerly registered, almost always with docility, every thing emanated from the monarch. Sometimes indeed it presented at least some shadow of op-

position to his will; but none of the Spanish sovereign councils have recourse to this feeble barrier against arbitrary power. Despotism is there never irritated or provoked to excess by any legal obstacle. There is no rallying point against it. If it knows how to be moderate, it may still, in spite of fate, last a long time.

The principal functions of the council of war are the administration of justice to those of the military who have brought their causes before this tribunal. It is divided into two chambers or *salas*. The *sala de govierno* is especially occupied with the objects of administration. It has for members the inspectors, the oldest captain of the body-guards and the oldest of the two colonels of the guards.

The *sala de justicia* occupies itself with matters of contention. If dissatisfied with its decision, you may appeal to the chambers united.

According to treaties, all causes of foreigners tried in the first instance by the military judges, go by appeal to the council of war. This is a privilege which foreign nations rigidly insist upon, and particularly the French. The members of this tribunal, who are for the most part old military men, have the method familiar to their profession, and very desirable in commercial affairs, of deciding very expeditiously. Without being more than others accessible to solicitations of favour, or to temptations of corruption, they appear at least more so to the language of reason. In my fre-

quent intercourse with them, I have always found occasion to praise their wisdom and their equity; and for the interest of our commerce, I wish very much that our countrymen may continue them as supreme judges.

The highest military rank in Spain is that of *captain-general of the army*, and is equivalent to marshal of France, with which it was not incompatible, as they were united in the person of marshal Berwick. This rank has however for many years been little in use in Spain. In 1785 only two persons held it in the army, the count d'Aranda and the duke de Crillon. At the expiration of 1795 there were ten; of which three had been recently created, but they were soon after reduced to nine * by the death of the conqueror of Mahon.

Posterity has already begun to speak of him. What will it say? His family will always praise his heart.

* At the end of 1801 there were only seven, exclusive of the Prince of Peace, whom the favour of the king had placed above the captains general by creating for him the title of Generalissimo of the army. There are now five (end of 1804): i. e. count *de Colomera*, known by the name of general Alvarez at the siege of Gibraltar; count *del Campo de Alange*, who, after having been minister of war, successively occupied the embassies of Vienna and Lisbon; the prince *de Castelfranco*, a Neapolitan nobleman, who in the short war with France commanded a Spanish army in Biscay, and who is now ambassador at Vienna; the marquis *de Branciforte*, a Sicilian, brother-in-law to the Prince of Peace; and don *Ventura Caro*, a distinguished military officer, who also commanded an army against France in 1794 and 1795.

His friends will speak long of his amiable qualities, which made him so desirable in society, and secured a pardon for some foibles, the necessary consequences of a good temper and an easy character. And history will say, Crillon was true to the epithet which for several centuries has accompanied his name. He was brave, not on *a certain day*, but *every day* *. He had long experience, less perhaps of the military art than of the dangers of war. He was active, indefatigable. By his humanity, by his prepossessing manners, sometimes more than familiar, he knew how to conciliate the affection and confidence of his soldiers. His example taught them at once courage and gaiety. He had brilliant success in taking a fortress, which, even on the testimony of marshal Richelieu, passed for impregnable; and his miscarrying before another, where his greatest efforts proved unavailing, confirmed his character.

If he was the sport of the passions of others and perhaps of his own, he displayed at least an energetic constancy, and a perseverance which removed every obstacle, and often ended in triumph. He has left behind him some military memoirs, in which he depicts himself without knowing it. The precepts contained in them are examples. You find in them his frank good faith, his benevolence without affectation, and a certain disorder in his ideas which is even amiable.

* Non pas *un tel jour*, mais *toujours*.

After the captains-general* come the lieutenants general, the field-marshals, the brigadiers; three classes of general officers of which the last war with France furnished an opportunity of increasing the number. In 1788 Spain had 47 lieutenant-generals. In 1796 she counted 132. There are at present no more than 97. The number of field-marshals in 1788 was 67; in 1796 they amounted to 160, and at present are 143.

In 1788 the infantry was composed of 44 regiments, each of two battalions, without counting the Spanish and Walloon guards, each containing 4,200 men in six battalions. Of these 44 regiments 35 were national, two Italian, three Flemish, and four Swiss.

Of the two Italian regiments, one has been reduced; so that only of Naples remains.

The three Flemish regiments known by the name of the little Walloons (Flanders, Brussels, and Brabant,) have been incorporated with the national troops.

The Swiss regiments have been raised from four to six. These are, that of Schwaller (now Wimpfen) raised in 1734; those of Ruttiman, Reding, and Betschart, raised in 1742; that of Yann (now Traxler) in 1794, and that of Courten in 1796.

* The navy has also captains-general, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

The national regiments have been increased with 14, two of which, the volunteers of Tarragon and of Girone, were raised in 1792, and the 12 others during and since the war with France *.

These 88 battalions in 1788, at 684 men to a battalion, should have made the Spanish infantry amount to 60,192 men. However, I often heard it repeated during my first residence, that Spain had hardly 30 thousand effective men. The last war showed that she was capable of much greater efforts.

A little before this war broke out, a new form had been given to the infantry. Each regiment was composed of three battalions, two of which were for the field, and one denominated the *garrison* battalion, intended as an *entrepôt* to the others, to form their recruits, and to send them reinforcements. The two first should have 5 companies, each of 77 men, one of them grenadiers, and one of chasseurs. Their complement was 700 men each in time of peace, and 800 in time of war. When I arrived in Spain in 1792, this regulation was just begun, and there were only three regiments who had three battalions. Most of these regiments, at the time when preparation for war was making, could hardly reckon in the whole from 1000 to 1100 men.

* At present (the end of 1804) there are no more than 38 national regiments, one Italian, and six Swiss. Total 45; of which the Swiss have only two battalions; all the rest have three, according to the new regulation in 1791.

In many, the first battalion could not muster 800 men without almost entirely breaking up the other two. The battalions sent successively to the frontiers were therefore composed of four companies of fusiliers, of 160 men each, and one of grenadiers of 120. Total 760.

Each company in the Spanish regiments had one captain, whose pay in peace was 700 reals per month; one first lieutenant at 400 reals; one second lieutenant at 320; and one sub-lieutenant at 250. In the foreign regiments there were two sub-lieutenants.

Each soldier received eleven quartos per day, (about 6 *sous* 10½*d.* French) of which two were stopped for their linen and shoes and stockings, seven for their maintenance, and two for other necessaries. They were newly clothed every thirty months, and furnished every fifteen months with a pair of shoes, two pair of stockings, and two shirts.

It may easily be conceived that these have been increased in time of war.

If the two first battalions of the 44 regiments had been complete, Spain would have had 70,000 men; but there wanted many of that number in the beginning of 1792. On the approach of war, and after it had begun, all endeavours were used to complete the regiments, and twelve more were raised. By adding then to the 70 thousand these 22,800 new-raised troops, the

30,000 of the provincial militia, and the 8,400 Spanish and Walloon guards, Spain would have had 132,000 men. But besides that most of the regiments could not be raised to the war establishment, there were many deductions to be made from this number, as well for garrisoning Madrid as the interior and the coasts. So that the greatest army Spain had in effective men the last war did not exceed eighty thousand infantry, without however reckoning twenty thousand peasants, who for the campaign of 1795 were armed and incorporated with the regular troops.

It is not long ago that a great part of the infantry was abroad. In 1782 thirty-six battalions were in America. But since that time permanent corps have been established in all the Spanish possessions, and at the end of 1792 there were hardly any battalions of Spanish troops out of Europe. I do not speak of the places which Spain possesses on the coast of Africa, *Ceuta*, *Melilla*, *el Peñon*, *Alhucemas**. These places, known by the name of *African presidencies*, are garrisoned by troops from Europe.

The means of recruiting this army are in general very slender. The Spanish nation, brave as it is, has for some years past shown much disgust to the foot service. Each regiment, to procure men, hoists its colours in those places where

* *Oran* belonged to Spain ever since the conquest of it by cardinal Ximenes, till 1792, when she chose to abandon it.

it expects to find most dupes and libertines, and the army, as formerly in France, is recruited from the refuse of society. Often, at least before the war of 1792, our soldiers, actuated by the inconstancy that still continues to characterize them, travelled through the passes of the Pyrenees to enlist with the Spanish recruiting parties. The foreign regiments were completed at the expense of ours; and as the Spaniards have little experience of that wandering inconstancy which leads their neighbours into all the armies of Europe; and as besides our army is much more numerous than that of Spain, the inconvenience from the proximity of the respective garrisons was all on our side. The court of Madrid has therefore been solicited in vain to conclude a cartel with France for the mutual return of deserters; the only thing concluded on was the restoration of arms, horses, and baggage.

There is indeed another method of recruiting the Spanish army, that of the *quintas*, a kind of drawing resembling that of militia; but this distinction is to be observed in Spain, where they are both in use, that one is for recruiting the regulars, and the other the provincial regiments. The ordonnance of 1705 states, that for the first object lots should be drawn in each district to choose one out of *five*, but that at the same time the drawing for the militia should be suspended: this is the etymology of the word *quintas*. As it always happens, the thing is changed, but the name

remains. The *quintas*, now, do not demand such a heavy contribution from the people; and as they have several times manifested how odious it was to them, government has not recourse to this expedient but on the most urgent occasions. It was dispensed with during the American war, and was only twice resorted to in that with France.

Besides these regiments of infantry of the line, Spain has also twelve battalions of light infantry, of which the oldest was raised in 1762, and the two latest in 1802.

But we must not omit, as an essential part of the land forces, the 42 regiments of militia enrolled solely in the provinces of the crown of Castille. They are embodied only one month in the year in the principal place of which they bear the name, and then the officers and men are paid. This is also the case in time of war, when they are employed to replace the regular troops in garrisons, or to be embodied with the army, of which they certainly are not the least valuable portion. This was perceived in the last war, at the commencement of which 84 companies of grenadiers and chasseurs of these provincial regiments, to the number of 6300 men, were sent to the frontiers. During peace, except the month when they are embodied, they remain in their villages and follow their occupations. These regiments, all composed of a single battalion of 720 men (except that of Majorca, which has two), must

always be complete. As soon as a militia man dies, deserts, or is dismissed, he is replaced by lot drawn in the district to which he belonged.

These militia regiments have a particular inspector; their colonels are taken from the principal inhabitants of the canton. Their authority over the men is very great. They may inflict corporal punishments, and there is no appeal from their sentence but to the king by means of the council of war. There are few countries in Europe that have a better militia, and that better keep up the military reputation of the nation.

It is agreed on all hands that the Spanish soldier distinguishes himself by his cool courage, his steadiness, and by his endurance of labour, fatigue, and hunger. Our countrymen who served with them at Minorca and Gibraltar do them this justice most completely; and even those who in the last war retaliated in such a shining and steady manner on the Spanish army, the temporary success it had otained in Roussillon and on the banks of the Bidassoa, understand their own glory too well not to allow that they almost always found in the Spanish soldier an enemy worthy of themselves.

Even the officers on whom, before I came to Spain, I had heard the most severe observations made, have constantly displayed in this war courage and often talents. We must confess, that if the Spanish troops have degenerated a little, it is to be attributed to circumstances entirely foreign to them-

selves. Courage and military talents require constant exercise. A long peace may change the martial spirit of the most courageous nation. For although Spain has taken part in almost every war this century, yet it may with truth be said, that since the peace of 1748 her troops have not made any real campaigns. The Spaniards themselves dare not give that name to that of Portugal, so short, and so barren of obstacles and dangers. The expeditions to Algiers in 1774, and to Buenos Ayres in 1776, were nothing but partial and fleeting operations, which furnished few occasions for courage, and little food for experience.

Let us add, as an apology for the Spanish officers, that the life they lead is such as to benumb all their faculties. Most of their garrison towns are lonely places, without resources either in respect to instruction or genteel amusements. Deprived entirely of furloughs, they seldom obtain leave to attend to their affairs. This undoubtedly is a way to make excellent soldiers of those who are forced to that profession, without views of distinction. But every where a stimulus is necessary to excite to exertion; and with the most part of the Spanish officers, the obscure and monotonous life they lead, without any manœuvres on a great scale, and without any reviews, at length deadens all activity, or leads to unworthy objects. It has moreover the inconvenience of making the service little attractive, and keeping from it those to

whom a small fortune and a good education present other resources. The Spanish army, however, has in this respect for some years experienced an advantageous alteration. The military schools of Santa Maria, for the infantry, directed by general Oreilly; that of Ocaña, for the cavalry, by general Ricardos; and that at Segovia, for the artillery, have furnished the army with distinguished officers. The martial spirit begins to revive in the nobility, and many of its first members have renounced the pleasures of the capital, and gave, during the last war, an example of discipline and courage.

What we have said concerning the infantry is applicable to all the other corps of the Spanish army. After many variations, the following is the actual state of her cavalry. She has twelve regiments of horse of five squadrons each; six regiments of chasseurs, and six of hussars, each of five squadrons, without counting one brigade of royal carabiniers, which makes a part of the royal military household, and has a particular organization.

Each squadron of these regiments consists of a hundred horse in time of peace, and a hundred and eighty in time of war. Twenty or thirty years ago, if all the heavy and light cavalry of Spain had been complete, she would have had an army of about 11,500 horse.

Since that time, and particularly since the peace of Bâle, Spain appears to have been seriously oc-

cupied in improving her cavalry; and the new regulations she has made are a proof of it. Until within a few years the Spanish regiments of this part of the army were far from being complete even in men; and even of the number they had, eighty were without horses. From this resulted an inconvenience which could not be remedied but by time. The service of the cavalry lost much of the attraction which it ought to have had with the Spaniards, because the new-raised men remained on foot during three or four years, till their turn came to have the horses which their comrades had left without riders.

How are we to account for this scarcity of horses in a country which, so late as the reign of Philip IV, could furnish eighty thousand for military service, to which almost all the provinces contributed! for Andalusia was not the only one renowned for the beauty of its horses. Pliny praises those of Galicia and of the Asturias; Martial those of Arragon, his country, &c. But the multiplication of mules has almost annihilated the race of good horses in the two Castilles, the Asturias, and Galicia. In order to procure a considerable number of these useful animals, which make up for their ignoble appearance by their utility and the length of their service, they have sacrificed exclusively their handsomest mares to the breed of mules, which are established every where. Even

this breed has not been sufficient for the demand, which augments every day; and Arragon, Navarre and Catalonia have finished by drawing from France the greater part of the mules they use; and it is not exaggerating to say that more than twenty thousand go from France to Spain every year.

So true is it that the extravagant increase of mules is the cause of the degeneracy of horses in most of the provinces of Spain, that Andalusia, where the laws prohibit the covering of mares by asses, is the only province where the beauty of horses has been preserved *. We should, however, be tempted to believe that even there, if they have not lost any thing of their spirit, of their make and docility, they have at least lost a great deal of their strength. From the testimony of some of our best officers of cavalry I can affirm, that nothing is more striking than the first and second charge of the Spanish horse, but at the third the horses are exhausted.

It appears, therefore, to be granted by all impartial Spaniards and judges, that the best race

* Horses really beautiful are even there excessively rare. A Dane who should be a judge, and who is so, having traversed all Spain, about three or four years ago, to buy a certain number of horses to enrich the studs of the king of Denmark, assured me that, of four thousand which he had seen, he should find no more than twenty that were worth the trouble of exporting.

of horses has degenerated with respect to strength. They have now no other expedient left to restore them to their former excellence, but to cross the breed *.

Meanwhile, until that regeneration shall be complete, several noblemen on their estates, and the king at Cordova and at Aranjuez, are occupied with success in preserving the few good breeds that still remain. Several sets of horses have appeared at Madrid and at the royal residences; and if this taste became general, the studs of mules would soon lose their vogue, and many persons would be interested in increasing and improving the breed of horses.

The Prince of Peace, who appears seriously to concern himself in all that can contribute to the prosperity of his country, has made an essay, from which perhaps the recovery of the beauty of Spanish horses may be dated. He ordered to be bought from the studs of Normandy one hundred handsome mares for the studs of Aranjuez and Cordova. Naturalists say that in crossing Norman mares with Spanish stallions the breed will unite the shape and strength of the Norman mares, and the speed and spirit of the Spanish horses. Analogies drawn from other species of animals seem to support this theory. Experience will soon prove the fact. Without being very ex-

* There appeared in 1796 a work of a very intelligent Spaniard (M. Pomar) on this subject.

pensive, this experience may become very useful, and indemnify Spain in some sort for the conquest we have just made by the crossing of our sheep with theirs. It is thus indeed that great nations, rivals without jealousy, and renouncing exclusive possession, may, in increasing their advantages, revenge themselves with dignity.

Nature, which has treated Spain so generously with all the necessaries and luxuries of life, which, refuses her hardly any of the enjoyments of peace, has also not left her without the materials of which war composes its means of destruction. She has abundance of iron, copper, lead, and saltpetre; and her artillery may dispense with drawing them from other sources.

The artillery continued to be on the same footing from 1710 till 1803, when the Prince of Peace entirely changed its organization.

Until that time it was composed of one regiment of five battalions, which some little time ago were increased to six, without counting the company of cadets at Segovia. This regiment had 304 officers, and for its colonel the commandant-general of the artillery, who at the same time officiated as inspector of the corps.

At present the whole Spanish artillery is distributed into sixteen departments, six of which have their chief places of rendezvous in Europe, (Barcelona, Carthagena, Seville, Corogna, and the Canary islands,) the other ten are in America.

It is under the supreme direction of a *junta*, presided over by a staff. It consists of five regiments of twelve companies each, two of which are cavalry; and is commanded by seven hundred officers.

Hopes are formed that, under this new regulation, it will make rapid progress towards an amelioration of which it has a long time stood in need.

The artillery, as well as several other branches of administration, had been neglected by Ferdinand VI. Charles III, coming from Naples to Madrid, sent for an Italian, count Gazola, who employed himself in regenerating it. For this purpose it was necessary to reform the old proceedings in the arsenals. The king requested a founder from the court of France. She sent him Maritz, who made great alterations in the Spanish founderies. He introduced the method of casting cannon entire, and boring them afterwards. Envy caused him many impediments: and he himself justified the malevolence with which he was treated, by his bad success in casting some cannon which proved defective. He was particularly inexcusable in having a great quantity of guns cast of brass from Mexico, before he was convinced it had the requisite hardness. Almost all his cannon burst in proving, and the cry of indignation became general. His spirit and the protection of the monarch supported him against these storms. He continued to serve Spain as much as lay in his power, even when he had lost

the hopes of being useful. He quitted it at last, leaving as a legacy his method, his principles, and the lessons he owed to experience. Even his enemies now admit that he did essential service to the Spanish artillery. The manner in which it was served in the war against England, particularly at the siege of Mahon, and even in that which terminated with the peace of Bâle, has proved that at least this part of the military art is not behind hand in Spain.

The Italian count Gazola was at his death replaced by count Lacy, an Irishman by extraction, who having succeeded in several political missions to the North, was, to the surprise of every one, rewarded by being placed at the head of the artillery. At his death, in 1792, the command of this corps was given to count Colomera, formerly don Martin Alvarez, who for a time commanded at the siege of Gibraltar. On his retiring, he was replaced by don Joseph de Urrutia, who commanded the Spanish army when the peace of Bâle was signed, and who has since been made captain-general. His military talents have obtained the approbation of every one, even of the enemies to whom he was opposed *.

The Spanish artillery has besides many ingenious officers to boast of. General Tortosa, who commanded at the siege of Mahon, has received

* He died in 1804.

just praise from foreigners as well as Spaniards; he died very lately.

Besides the heavy artillery, Spain has for some years also had a corps of light artillery. The first trial of it was made in the last war with France; and from its beginning it owes its rapid progress to the intelligent general Pardo, who commanded towards the frontier of Portugal in the absence of the commander in chief Urrutia. It has been since brought to still greater perfection, and is modelled, in a great measure, on that of France. The artillerymen who serve it are on horseback; much inconvenience having been felt from placing them, as in Austria, on a kind of carriage called *wurst*.

Both kinds of artillery find in the country, and even in the colonies, every article of ammunition.

Spain has more lead than is wanted for its arsenals. The principal mine of it, that of Linarez in the kingdom of Jaen, produces much more than is wanted for account of the king; and although the other mines, the working of which is as yet imperfect, yield eight thousand quintals, yet Spain can export more than twenty thousand a year.

She has several mines of copper. That of *Rio tinto* is the most important, and furnishes part of the cannon of the arsenals. But they are made likewise of the copper from Spanish America.

That of Mexico and Peru is refined, and used in the founderies of Barcelona and Seville. The cannon cast there contain two thirds of Mexican copper to one third of that from Peru.

Biscay and the Asturias furnish the iron necessary for the artillery. The cannon of this metal are cast at Lierganes and Cavada. Before the last war iron ordnance was cast in the forges of Egui and de la Muga. In the intoxication of success, these two establishments were destroyed by our armies, as if we had to do with an irreconcileable enemy whom we must deprive for ever of all means of defence. If politicians require war so often, they should at least endeavour to lighten it by directing the details of it, so as to prevent victory from becoming furious. Since the peace, Spain has profited by this lesson in establishing new forges in places more distant from the frontiers, and a manufactory of fire-arms at Oviedo. She has also manufactories of muskets at Placentia and Ripoll, and re-established, about twenty-five years ago, a manufactory of side-arms at Toledo, which from its beginning promised to revive the ancient reputation of those formerly made there.

Spain is one of the richest countries of Europe in saltpetre: La Mancha and Arragon were said to furnish it in great purity. A French company was engaged to work it, and sent for this

purpose one of the partners, of the name of Salvador Dampierre, into Spain.

This agent, opposed in his enterprise, did not succeed. He had made trial of a piece of land near Madrid, without success, but of which the government took advantage. This land was found more proper for making excellent saltpetre than any in La Mancha or Arragon. A manufactory was established there in 1779 under the direction of one of the commissioners of taxes, don Rosendo Parruelo. In 1785 it was one of the most productive establishments of the capital, and employed four thousand workmen. After two dressings the saltpetre is fit for making powder. Eight or ten days are necessary for the first, but a few hours suffice for the second. Water is conveyed in abundance to this manufactory by subterraneous pipes; even firing is not wanting, since the woods which the inhabitants of the hills of Guadarrama did not think worth while to explore, have been opened. The land which produces this saltpetre recovers surprisingly soon. The *caput mortuum* is thrown near the manufactory; and sometimes in less than a month the air impregnated with nitre renders it fit for a fresh operation. It has been remarked that after a certain wind all the surrounding land whitens suddenly, as in a slight fall of snow. In 1792 I found this manufactory walled in, and in full employment.

The saltpetre made there is sent to the powder-mills at Alcazar San Juan in La Mancha, to Villa Feliche in the kingdom of Valencia, to Murcia and to Grenada; mills that have been much improved since the establishment of the manufactory at Madrid. At its commencement it engaged to furnish government with 11,000 quintals of saltpetre per annum, and during the American war far exceeded its engagement. However, it could not provide for the enormous consumption of powder at the camp of St. Roch; and although thirty-five thousand quintals were sent when the attack on Gibraltar was going to be made, yet it was necessary to order, in great haste, some from Genoa, France, and Holland. But at present it supplies all that Spain requires, and will soon become a new branch of exportation *.

The powder made of this saltpetre was soon in vogue; they pretended that it carried twice as far as the common powder. And very shortly Charles III. and his children used no other in the chase than this; the king of Naples for years had a small supply brought by the messengers who go once a week from Madrid to Italy. Spa-

* Within a few years it has been entirely abandoned. Besides that the work removed a great quantity of earth around the capital, and gave a very hideous appearance to a part of its environs, it was thought to be hurtful to the salubrity of the air. Nothing more was wanted to cause its suppression. (*Note written in* 1805.)

niards, foreigners, every body was eager to procure some. I have seen our admiral Guichen passing through the Escurial, on his return from the expedition against Gibraltar, (where he had an opportunity of forming a judgement of this powder) to request a few pounds of the king, as the only mark of favour; and this man, as plain in his manners as he was pious and brave, set out for Madrid, with no other baggage than his night-cap, his breviary, and ten pounds of powder of the royal manufactory.

Even America promises fair not to be much longer at the mercy of the metropolis for this production. The minister Galvez had established there three principal manufactories of saltpetre, at Lima, at Mexico, and at Santa-Fe. He sent to America, in order to improve these establishments, the same Dampierre who had miscarried in Europe. The Spanish colonies have then the means of defence in their own power, which distrust had so long withheld from them. Will the mother country never repent of it? Are the seeds of discontent which during several years have appeared at different intervals, and in an alarming manner, entirely extinguished?

The corps of engineers, raised in 1711, is in Spain, as in France, separate from the artillery. It is composed of ten directors, ten colonels, twenty lieutenant-colonels, thirty captains, forty

lieutenants, and forty subalterns, in all 150 officers, which are employed exclusively in works of fortification and civil architecture. There is only one commander for each of these two kinds of work; and he who presides at the second, although he be not in the military, holds notwithstanding rank in the army. *Don Francisco Sabattini*, a tolerable Italian architect, who was also a lieutenant-general, and who died a short time ago, held this place for more than twenty years. It was afterwards confided to the care of a real military man, general Urrutia, who held it till his death, which happened in 1803. He presided in this capacity at three military schools, established at Barcelona, at Cadiz, and at Zamora, for the instruction of youths intended for engineers, or of other officers or cadets of the army who wished to learn the mathematics*.

With respect to the marks of distinction of the

* Such was the organization of the engineers in Spain till the year 1803, when the prince of Peace gave it a new form. At present it is governed by a staff-officer, who corresponds with the ministry, transmits their resolutions to the directors and commanders, and presides at a *junta* charged with the examination of projects relative to the defence of places as well in Europe as in America. The number of engineers of all ranks has amounted to 196. There are at present no more than two schools for engineers, one at Zamora, and the other at Alcala near Madrid. A regiment of sappers and miners, of two battalions, raised in 1711, continues to be attached to their corps.

different ranks and different corps of the army, we shall only observe that the general officers have an uniform much resembling that formerly worn by those in France of the same rank. The majors, lieutenant-colonels, and colonels, have no epaulettes, but one, two, or three stripes of gold or silver lace on their facings. The captains have two epaulettes, the lieutenants one on the right, and the sub-lieutenants one on the left. All the officers who are not at least field-marshals are obliged constantly to wear their uniforms, even on going to court. These are white for the national infantry, except the two regiments of Spanish and Walloon guards, who are clothed in blue. The uniforms of the cavalry are indifferently blue, red, green, or yellow. The artillery, the engineers, and the Swiss regiments have blue. All the regiments wear on their buttons their names, which are chiefly those of some town or province. The Swiss regiments alone are called after their colonels.

According to the present regulations, nobody is admitted an officer who has not before passed the rank of cadet. There was for about twenty years an establishment for the education of officers of merit; it was the military school of which we have already spoken. Its founder, count Oreilly, had that species of talent which fitted him to preside over such an establishment, and to make it prosper.

Born in Ireland of catholic parents, he entered very early into the service of Spain, and had, in Italy, taken part in the war for the Austrian succession. There he received a wound, of which he was lame all his life. In 1757 he went to serve under the orders of marshal Lacy, until 1759, when he joined the French army. He was held in particular estimation by marshal Broglio, who, when he returned to Spain, recommended him to the king. Afterwards he made the campaign of Portugal, where he distinguished himself. At the peace he was made field-marshal, and appointed second in command at the Havannah; from whence he passed to Louisiana, where the colonists showed themselves repugnant to the Spanish yoke. The means he employed to suppress them covered him with execrations. In his long career, Oreilly passed through all the shades of favour and disgrace. The affection of Charles III. for him was a long time ineffectual against the public opinion.

Few people have inspired enthusiasm and hatred in the same degree as he has. His conduct at Louisiana, where his memory will be long held in abhorrence, though it might not be impossible for impartiality to extenuate its horror; and his unfortunate attempt against Algiers in 1774, had caused him to be classed with the atrocious of mankind and with bad generals, although he was neither the one nor the other. Dexterous, insinuating, active,

even in body, although he was lame; knowing very well, at least theoretically, his profession, he had the art to make himself necessary on many occasions. After having languished, not without dignity, in a kind of exile, he was made commandant-general of Andalusia, and obtained leave for his favourite child, the military school, to be transferred from Avila to port Santa-Maria, near Cadiz, the place of his residence. He displayed in this command true talents for every kind of administration. He was not beloved there; but he hid his despotic character under such engaging forms, that people appeared to obey him more from affection than fear; and he was regretted when the implacable Lerena, who had had several violent altercations with him during the time he was intendant of Andalusia, removed him to Galicia. He thought he might appear again at court in the event of Charles IV coming to the throne. He was refused under mortifying circumstances, from which his noble spirit ought to have exempted him, and sent back to the kingdom of Valencia. Always indefatigable in activity, he sought to make himself useful at least in proposing plans, and in giving advice, at the time when the war with France was about to break out. The command of the Catalonian army was given to general Ricardos, his countryman *, his friend, and, like him, little agreeable to

* He was born in Spain; but his father was an Irishman, who had married the daughter of the duke of Montemar.

the new court, notwithstanding his talents, and the fidelity of his long services. Ricardos dying after some successes which justified the choice of him, Oreilly was nominated to succeed him. This unexpected triumph was the last; for when he was on his march to take the command of the army, he died, opportunely for his glory. Very severe reverses attended his successor, count de la Union, who was young, brave, full of ardour, but without experience. Oreilly probably would not have escaped them. When no more, he was regretted. He survived the establishment he had founded; the military school, after having furnished many distinguished officers for the Spanish infantry, was broken up during his last exile.

The school of cadets, or *Real seminario de nobles*, founded at Madrid in 1727, is not to be compared with it. Their education is indeed carefully attended to, particularly since 1799, when it received a new regulation; but it is only for a few families. For although it is richly endowed, each scholar must pay one hundred guineas for his board. They must all be of noble extraction, and the children of officers are preferred. The number of scholars is not above a hundred.

The military, after being disabled from service, are still the care of government. There is in Spain a corps of invalids for officers as well as for common soldiers. It is composed of forty-six companies, who, divided between Madrid, the

residence of the court, and the provinces, have very easy service. Those who are entirely incapable make another corps of twenty-six companies, distributed between Seville, Valencia, Lugo, and Toro. Both have the same inspector as the infantry.

There is no order of knighthood in Spain for the special purpose of rewarding officers. Charles III, however, made a law to confer only on them the four military orders, without excluding them from that which he founded. But these favours entirely depend on the will of the king, and not on length of service. He has besides other means of recompensing old officers. He grants them pensions, or employments on the staff.

Their widows have not been forgotten. Charles III established in 1761 a fund, from which they receive pensions proportioned to the rank of their husbands: widows of captains-general eighteen thousand reals, those of lieutenants-general twelve thousand, &c. down to widows of officers of the lowest rank.

This fund is composed first of an old endowment of 360,000 reals; then of a fifth of the produce of the *spolios y vacantes*; of the half of a month's pay contributed once by every officer in the army; another deduction of eight maravedis from each dollar of their pay; the inheritance of every one who dies without heirs, or intestate, &c. A worthy institution, and deserving to be held up as

a model, which, procuring means for the subsistence of widows, without their being obliged to interest to forward their claims, has greatly encouraged marriage amongst the military, as well as other classes of people, even amongst artisans.

The appointments of commandants of provinces are further means of rewarding general officers, but they condemn them to an almost perpetual residence. For in Spain, prelates, intendants, governors, commandants, all reside at the places of their respective employment, notwithstanding that the presence of the sovereign and the amusements of the capital have there, as well as elsewhere, their allurements to ambition and dissipation.

All governors of provinces have the title of *captain-general*, which must not be confounded with that of the first rank in the army. They are also often called, though erroneously, *viceroys*, a title belonging only to the governors of Navarre and of the principal provinces of America. The seats of these governors or captains general, 13 in number, are, *Madrid*, for new Castille; *Zamora*, for old Castille; *Barcelona*, for the principality of Catalonia; *Valencia*, for the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia; *Palma*, for the kingdom of Majorca; *Pampeluna*, for the kingdom of Navarre; *San-Sebastiano*, for Guipuscoa; *Santa-Maria*, for Andalusia; *Malaga*, for the coast of Grenada; *Corogna*, for Galicia; *Badajoz*, for Estramadura;

Ceuta, for the African presidencies; and *Santa-Cruz de Teneriffe*, for the Canary Islands.

From this it appears that there are not in Spain, as formerly in France, any of those idle governors created only by favour and to exhaust the finances. Our neighbours have therefore two less of those numerous evils that require a revolution, and which provoked ours—the show of luxury made by those of all degrees who held places, as well at court as in the capital, and the multiplicity of them. A revolution costs so much, that a philanthropist will calmly consider every circumstance that may remove the dangerous necessity of it.

Let us now pass on to the navy.

CHAPTER V.

Spanish navigators, ancient as well as modern. Departments of the navy. Naval officers. Sailors. Construction of ships. Force of the marines. Their supply. Barbary powers. M. de Florida-Blanca.

THE Spanish navy, as well with respect to war as navigation, for more than a century displayed the first character in Europe. The world will never forget the name of Columbus, of Magellan, of Cano, nor the monarch who encouraged their illustrious enterprises. Geographers will not forget two navigators, though less known, yet equally worthy of being so, *Quiros* and *Mendaña*, whose vast knowledge and sagacity are proved by modern observations. At the same epocha, the Spanish navy had its heroes, but they disappeared with the *invincible Armada*; and under the reigns of the three Philips we hardly perceive any traces of its former glory. Charles II left it, as well as the rest of the monarchy, in the most deplorable state.

The efforts the Spaniards made during the war of succession, produced some transient activity in their navy; but their able navigators had disappeared never to return. Under the two last reigns

they have attempted, not without some success, to revive this part of the glory of the nation. I shall not speak of *don Jorge Juan* or of *don Antonio Ulloa*, who took part in the expedition of la Condamine, as envoys; and whose object was only to make astronomical observations. More recently the Spaniards have undertaken voyages of discovery, or at least to determine such coasts as were imperfectly known; but they appear to have concealed from the public the result of their expeditions, an affectation which the lovers of science have a right to condemn. Besides, notwithstanding their jealousy, the details and the result of almost every voyage is pretty well known *.

* This reproach on the Spaniards, which was made by M. de Fleurieu in his delightful work which appeared in 1799 and 1800, in publishing the voyage of captain Marchand, has been refuted with great acrimony by one of the most enlightened officers in the Spanish navy, don Gabriel Ciscar, in a work, printed by order of the king in 1802, called *El Relacion del viage hecho por las Goletas* SUTIL *y* MEXICANA, *en el anno de* 1792 *para reconocar el Estrecho de Fuca, con una introduccion*, &c. We must thank M. de Ciscar for this mode of revenge: it is noble and instructive. The learned in Europe will profit by it. This work is preceded by a view of the discoveries made by the Spaniards along the north-west coast of America since the time of Ferdinand Cortes. The Introduction will exculpate the Spaniards from the imputation of idleness, ignorance, and reserve. An extract of this work is to be found in N°s. 3 and 4 of the literary Archives, printed every month by Henrichs, rue de la loi.

In 1768, a vessel left Monte Video to explore the unfrequented coast which separates the *Rio de Plata* from the streights of Magellan, and proceeded to examine the Falkland Islands, which, two years after, threatened to cause a war with England.

In 1769 and 1770, by order of the marquis de Croix, then viceroy of Mexico, and under the supreme direction of *don Joseph Galvez*, who afterwards filled that place so well, two expeditions, one by sea and one by land, were at the same time made from San Blas, a sea-port in Mexico, situated at twenty-eight degrees of north latitude, to visit the port of Monterey, which the detachment by sea had great trouble in finding again, although it had been discovered in 1692 by Vizcayno, who had determined its bearings with some exactness.

About the same time other Spanish navigators, *don Philippe de Gonzales* and *don Antonio de Monte*, one commanding the Saint Laurence of 70 guns, and the other the Rosalia a frigate of 36 guns, sailing from Lima, undertook an expedition to the South-Sea Islands, and discovered, not for the first time (for that merit is certainly due to Rogevin, a Dutchman), but before Cook and la Peyrouse, the Easter Islands; and thinking, no doubt, that they were unknown before, he took possession of them in the name of the king of Spain, planted three crosses on three hillocks, and called it *San Carlos*.

In 1775, Bucarelli, viceroy of Mexico, sent two

navigators from San-Blas, *don Juan de Ayala* and *don Juan Francisco de la Bodega*, to examine the coast of California to the 65th degree. They could not reach the 57th, and returned without having done any thing but reconnoitre some small harbours on this coast, such as *los Remedios*, *de los Dolores*, &c. Don Antonio Maurelle, who has since obtained from his countrymen (perhaps a little too lightly) the name of the Spanish Cook, was in this voyage the pilot of the vessel commanded by don Juan de Ayala.

He has since made some expeditions on his own account, which, on account of the difficulties with which they were attended, deserve some reputation. He has sometimes undertaken a voyage to the Philippines on the northern coast of America against the monsoons, and in this manner he went in 1780 and 1781 from the Manillas to San-Blas on board the frigate called the Princess.

It is also known that the Spaniards were at Otaheite before Cook, the discovery of which does not belong to any body of our days; neither to commodore Wallis, nor even to our admiral Bougainville, from whom we have learnt to pronounce the name of this island with so much emotion; the Spaniards have an undoubted right to claim the island of Otaheite, having been first discovered by their navigator *Quiros*. It is seen by the description in the second voyage of Cook, that the Spaniards had left there two of their vessels; but there is as yet very little

known of their voyage, as the description has never been printed.

There is an account of a more recent voyage undertaken in 1786 by *don Antonio Cordova*, on board the frigate *La Santa-Maria de la Cabeza*. It is printed under the title of *Relacion del ultimo viage al estrecho de Magellanes en los annos* 1785 *y* 1786; and the anonymous author, who appears to be well acquainted with nautical affairs, has added a notification of all former voyages, and extracts from several valuable manuscripts not before known.

An able officer of the Spanish navy, M. de Malaspina, very recently departed from Cadiz to sail round the world. His expedition had the same object in view as that of La Peyrouse; and, like that unfortunate French circumnavigator, he was provided with all sorts of instruments to make every observation. At his return to Cadiz he delivered his manuscript to a learned monk, father Gil, who was busied in revising and preparing it for the press, when both, no body knows how, experienced the disgrace of the sovereign and his principal ministers: they were imprisoned; the work has been suspended, and the satisfaction the learned had promised themselves from it entirely disappointed *. Why should a man who is able

* In the year 1797 hopes were entertained that the voyage of Malaspina would be published; but this hope was

to go through the world, describe it, and enlighten it, lose his time in the intrigues of a court? Thus have we described all that is at present known of what the Spaniards have done for the advancement of navigation. Their navy offers them different laurels to gather. We shall see what they have done, and what they are capable of doing, in the present perilous times.

Charles III. found the navy in an imperfect state, although Ferdinand VI. had neglected it less than the other branches of administration, and his minister, the marquis de la Ensenada, was esteemed the restorer of the Spanish navy. It is divided into three departments; that of Ferrol, of Carthagena, and of Cadiz.

The first has truly an inconvenience, on account of the insalubrity of the air, and the frequency of rain, which swells the bar so much that they cannot sail out but with one wind. This department for the northern coast would perhaps be better at Vigo, the climate of which is very healthy, the territory very fertile, and the port spacious and safe. This has been sometimes proposed; but it would have been necessary to establish arsenals and magazines there, which are now entirely wanting; and

again disappointed; and it is now believed that the publication of this work has been withheld from other causes than what was first supposed. M. M. now lives in the province of Parmesan, his native country, in tranquillity.

to fortify at great expense the port, which is a kind of open road: lastly, its proximity to Portugal,—which has long been considered as the natural enemy to Spain, only, perhaps, because she is the nearest neighbour,—has appeared an insurmountable circumstance. These reasons both œconomical and political have hitherto impeded such a project.

The department of Carthagena has many advantages over that of Ferrol. The safety of its port is known by an old proverb of the sailors, who say, There are only three good ports for vessels; the month of June, the month of July, and the port of Carthagena. This safety extends to the arsenals and docks, which, being close together in a narrow and insolated space, can, as it were, be shut with a single key, according to the Spanish expression. For this reason Carthagena is the department where there is most building, refitting, and careening. Besides, there is an artificial bason constructed during the last reign which may be admired even after having seen that of Toulon. Charles III. established there, in 1770, a corps of sea engineers, under the direction of Gauthier, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

The department of Cadiz is however the most important, on account of its favourable situation for the sailing of every expedition. As I shall conduct my readers about Cadiz, where I have

lived some time, I refer to that article for such details as I have collected about its port, its timber-yards, docks, arsenals, which may serve as a supplement to what I shall say here concerning the Spanish navy.

The navy was nearly organized as ours before the revolution. Instead of vice-admirals, she has captains-general, who rank the same as in the army. At this time (in 1806) there are only three captains-general of the navy; the *Bailli de Valdes*, who has been for these fourteen years minister of this department; *don Juan de Langara*, of whom we have spoken above; and the *marquis del Socorro*, known formerly under the name of *don Francisco Solano*, by several naval engagements, and by several learned observations he made in South America. But above all these is a man in favour of whom the title of generalissimo of the navy has been created. It will be easily guessed that I mean the prince of Peace.

Immediately after the captains-general of the navy, follow the lieutenants-general. There were only seventeen in 1788. In 1796, thirty; of which ten had been created the preceding year, at the end of a war where the opportunity of displaying their courage was very rare. There is about the same number now.

We have lately had an opportunity of appreciating several of them; as the admiral *Mazareddo*, who during more than a year has resided at Paris,

charged with a mission both political and military, and who at present is the commandant-general of the department of Cadiz :—*Don Francisco Gil de Lemos*, whose long experience and unspotted reputation have recently gained him the place of minister of the navy :—Admiral *Gravina*, who commanded the Spanish squadron all the time it lay at Brest, and of whom our admirals have so much reason to be satisfied in the combined expedition against St. Domingo ; the same whom we saw (for too short a time indeed) ambassador at Paris :—The admiral *don Domingo Grandellana*, whose zeal and capacity a few years ago raised him to be minister of the navy, but who has since quitted that appointment to superintend the works of Ferrol :—Admiral *don Juan Moreno*, who, notwithstanding the deplorable accident that befel two of his ships before Cadiz, has nevertheless received from our sailors the title of a brave and respectable general, as a testimony of his courage and his misfortunes :—*Don Thomas Munoz*, equally respectable for his activity, his talents, and his loyalty. Besides these, many more general officers might be named who had acquired a distinguished reputation in the preceding war, and to whom nothing but opportunity was wanting to increase it in the last wars.

Such would be *don Francisco de Borja*, actually captain-general in the department of Carthagena ; *don Felix de Texada*, captain-general of Ferrol; *don Gabriel de Aristizabal*, known by some expedi-

tions which required both skill and intrepidity; *don Antonio Cordova*, known by his misfortunes, from which his talents and his courage ought to have protected him. To these names many others might be added less known out of Spain, but in no respect less worthy. Such as *de Alava*, *Escaño*, *Ezeta*, *Guona*, *Boneo*, *Ciscar*, and several of rank inferior to lieutenant-general.

After the lieutenant-generals of the navy come the commodores, who were only ten in number in 1788; they were augmented to forty-four at the peace in 1795, and are at present reduced to twenty-three.

The Spanish navy has a degree between the commodore and the captain, that of brigadier: there were only forty-four in 1788; at the peace of 1795 there were fifty five, thirty-two of which were made during that war. Their number at present is forty-two. That of captains was in 1788 only forty-four; it is now eighty-seven.

By this report it will be seen that wars, either fortunate or not, produce many means for advancement in Spain. But on an element so perfidious as the sea, success does not always go hand in hand with talents and courage; yet these deserve rewards at all times.

A rule, to which there are few exceptions, is, that in order to obtain rank in the Spanish navy it is necessary to pass the degree of *garde marine* or midshipman. This corps was raised in 1717; it is composed of three companies, divided into

three departments. Each consists of eighty-two cadets, for whose instruction there is an academy, composed of a director and eight professors.

With these means to qualify themselves for the difficult and dangerous art of navigation; with the facility which the vast extent of the Spanish monarchy offers to acquire practice in frequent and distant expeditions, malignity might be warranted in severely judging the Spanish naval officers; and it is known that this has been done during the American war even in Spain itself.

I will not appreciate the accusations of which they were the object. I will leave this task to our sailors, who during the war from 1779 to 1782 have sailed and fought by the side of their allies. Let them declare whether the accusations were not almost always dictated by injustice and prepossession.

The war which Spain made against us from the month of April 1793 till the peace of Basil in 1795, would produce more severe reflections, as the Spanish sailors would be judged by enemies instead of allies. In fact, if you except the bay of Roses, where a small squadron, commanded by the intrepid Gravina, defended with great bravery the citadel of the same name and the little port of *Bouton*;—if you again except Toulon, where treason opened the port to our combined enemies,—where are the places, during this war, in which the Spanish navy has appeared with any eclat? Its own nation, indeed, has groaned and blushed for its inaction. But we know that these sentiments

pervaded even the navy itself;—that its ardour was withheld by the extreme circumspection of the chief of the department, a man prudent and cold, fit to direct a navy in time of peace, but little able, it was said, in time of war to give that impulse of activity so necessary: besides, there reigned, happily for us, between our combined enemies, that misunderstanding which must divide two nations, one of whom, proud notwithstanding its weaknesses, is more repugnant than any other to the caprices of arrogance; two nations united by transient interest, but which could never agree either on the means or the end.

As soon as this unnatural alliance was dissolved, to the great vexation of the one and the great satisfaction of the other, the Spanish navy showed itself disposed to forget the momentary error of its government; and if, in the war when she found again as enemies those whom she had before known as allies, she did not signalize herself as much as she could have wished, it was only owing to circumstances.

It is well known that a considerable part of her forces, conducted to Brest at the wish of our government, has experienced there the same fate with ours, in being so long blockaded by a superior squadron. But it will no where else be forgotten, and particularly when occasion presents itself, that the Spanish sailors have given proofs of their constancy and intrepidity.

The English will recollect in particular the long and unnecessary blockade of Cadiz; the reception they met with at the Canaries in 1797; and before the port of Ferrol in the month of August 1800; and above all their expedition against Cadiz in the month of October the same year; and lastly, their attempt, in the month of June 1801, on the coast of Algesiras, where the glorious efforts of our sailors were so well assisted by the foresight and valour of their allies; and we ourselves shall not forget in what manner they concurred more recently in our expedition to the island of St. Domingo, and how they have already begun to second us in the combined war we made some time since with England.

At least the most enlightened judges must allow that there is a great deal of light and theoretical knowledge in the Spanish navy. We have recent proofs of this in the works which contain the depôt of marine charts at Madrid; in the works published at this place, by some officers truly learned in their art, although still young, *MM. Mendoza*, *Galiano*, and the two brothers *Ciscar*.

The officers of the navy, with respect to rewards, are on the same footing with those of the army. Vice-royalties, governorships of provinces or places in Spanish America, are indistinctly given to officers of the army as well as the navy. But the sailors have, in their expeditions, often an op-

portunity to make their fortunes, which is regarded in Spain as legitimate, and which, as it is said, they sometimes use to excess, which renders the favours of the king less necessary to them. This cupidity might be excusable if it was accompanied by military success; But how can they be qualified if they prevent it, as is pretended to be always the case?

The Spanish navy has its sailors classed and distributed between her three departments. According to the registers, there are from fifty-five to sixty thousand. But from this number is to be deducted more than a fourth, composed of all such as are unfit for the sea service; and who enter their names only to enjoy the privileges attached to the title *classed sailors*. A judgment may be formed of the department of Ferrol, where, of twenty thousand classed sailors, there were in 1792 only fifteen thousand, at most, fit for service. And even amongst these there were many on whom but a weak dependance could be put. The Catalonians, for instance, though very good sailors, are not fit for the service on board a man of war; because, accustomed to their vessels with square sails, with which they go to the Baltic and even to Spanish America, they are not so expert on board a vessel of another construction. They are beside haughty, inclined to caprice, and prefer the merchant vessels, where they are better treated and better paid.

It would therefore be exaggeration to estimate the number of sailors employed at above thirty-six or forty thousand. In 1790, when Spain was on the point of a rupture with England, they found great difficulty to equip thirty-two ships of the line. She might, however, have put a greater number to sea if she had had sufficient sailors. Let us follow the progress of the Spanish navy since the commencement of the reign of Charles III.

After the peace which followed the disastrous war of 1761, Spain had only thirty-seven ships of the line and about thirty frigates.

In 1770, she reckoned fifty-one, from 112 to 58 guns; twenty-two frigates, eight large boys, nine xebecs, and twelve other smaller vessels. In all 120 vessels of all sizes.

In 1774 she had sixty-four ships of the line, eight of which were three-deckers; twenty-six frigates, nine xebecs, and twenty-eight other smaller vessels. In all 142.

In 1778 she had sixty-seven ships, thirty-two frigates, &c. Total 163 vessels of all sizes; and at the end of the war, notwithstanding the losses she had sustained, she still possessed almost the same number.

At the end of 1792, at the time of declaring war with France, she counted eighty ships of the line, six of which were totally unfit for service, and fourteen others were very little better. At this time, therefore, she had at least fifty to oppose to

us. Her war against the French republic has not been destructive to her navy. That which she had afterwards with the English has left her more losses to repair; and her government has been occupied with it as much as their means permitted. Even in 1804, at the moment when England thought to take her unprovided by a declaration of war, at which Europe was indignant, she still counted sixty-five ships of the line, good as well as middling, of which she could have manned at least fifty, if the calamities which affected this unhappy country at that time had not principally ravaged amongst the sailors.

The crews of the Spanish ships vary according to circumstances. Although there ought to be ten men to each gun, the 74-gun ships have not above 660 men at most. At the end of 1792 some had no more than 500; and the scarceness of sailors sometimes obliges them to reduce the number to 300 men for two-deckers.

But how comes it that Spain has a number so little proportioned to its population? It is because the merchant service is the very cradle of the navy; because the commerce of Spain, being more passive than active, and her internal navigation being reduced to nothing, the trading navigation is as yet very inconsiderable.

It is only a few years that it has consisted of four or five hundred vessels, of which the coast of Catalonia furnishes three fourths, and Biscay almost the other.

Compare this view of Spain with England, who, with an inferiority of population of three millions *, had, before the war terminated by the peace of Amiens, more than 7000 merchant vessels; compare it with Holland, peopled less by two-thirds, that counted at least six thousand five hundred. Within few years, however, the number of ships in Spain has sensibly increased; which ought particularly to be attributed to the free trade with Spanish America.

Spain has, to supply the defects of its inferiority in sailors and the sea service, an infantry of marines composed of twelve battalions, each of six companies, divided amongst the three departments, and which should produce a corps of 12,384 men. But these battalions are far from being complete. At the time when I quitted Spain, in 1793, the four batallions of Carthagena, for instance, contained no more than 2,300 men.

There is besides, a marine artillery that should amount to 3,320 men, divided into twenty brigades; which, at the same time, contained no more than 1500 men for the three departments.

* This was at least believed in 1797. At that time the pretensions, quite modern, of the English were not known, who make the population of their three kingdoms amount to above *fifteen millions*. See the English papers of April 1802. They reckon, according to a statement published by their government, more than nine millions in England and Wales alone.

Lastly, there is a corps of pilots divided between them, and there are some schools for navigation.

Under the reign of Ferdinand VI, Spain had adopted the English principle in ship building. *Don Jorge Juan*, one of her most active mariners as well in theory as in practice, had introduced some English ship builders into Spain. When Charles III came from Naples to take possession of the vacant throne, he found the construction of the Spanish vessels intrusted to individuals belonging to a nation that had but too much domineered in the cabinet of his predecessor, and which at that time was engaged in a war with France. An implacable enemy to the English since the imperious lesson he had received from them at Naples, and besides religiously devoted to the glory of his own house, he hesitated not to take a part in this war, and, as is well known, became the victim of his attachment to the French cause.

The English took the Havannah, and twelve ships that were in the harbour. This check was an additional motive to the Spanish monarch to put his navy on a respectable footing. He gave up the English mode of building, and requested one of our shipwrights. M. de Choiseul sent him Gauthier, who, though young, had already given proofs of great talents in his art. This foreigner was to the navy what Moritz had been to the artillery. The

esprit de corps, national prejudices, and particularly the jealousy of individuals, created for him, as they had done for Moritz, such obstacles as unavoidably slackened his zeal. M. d'Ossun, then *the French ambassador in Spain, supported him in* his difficulties, and assisted him in triumphing over his enemies. He began his operations, and displayed equal activity and intelligence. His first essays were crowned with all possible success. The built of the ships of all sizes which he constructed, gave them a swiftness in sailing till that time unknown in Spain; but they had too much heaviness, which made them difficult to manage in bad weather. He has since so amended his plan that little more is to be wished for. Most of the Spanish ships employed in the American war were constructed by him; and many have excited the admiration of French mariners, and even that of the English. The ship called the Conception was pronounced by them the handsomest in Europe.

But after doing justice to the form and solidity of the Spanish ships, every body has found fault with their heaviness. That this was owing to the mode of rigging and stowing, has been demonstrated; since the ships which admiral Rodney took in 1780 from M. de Langara, acquired a celerity under the direction of the English which it was supposed they were not capable of before.

Gauthier, however, is not the only author of the

revolution in ship-building. He had several pupils, who shared the merit with him. Spain has besides within herself some naval architects, who have improved the art, and who make his loss less felt by the Spanish marine. After some years the jealous temper of the minister Castejon, his friend before, set him aside, and the French government seized that opportunity of demanding him again. The court of Madrid sent him back to his country, continuing his salary, but with the reserve of reclaiming him when wanted. The revolution of France has deprived him of this recompense; he indemnified himself by serving her, and felt the effect of her storms. They afterwards showed him some kind of justice in employing him, but in a manner less brilliant than his talents deserved *.

Since he left Spain, I have heard him regretted even by those who opposed and envied his success; which proves that that nation is generous enough in many respects to render justice to those who have suffered from their national prejudices.

My experience has even proved that these prejudices are exaggerated, or at least that they ought to be more excused. Which is the nation that,

* He died at Paris in 1800, in circumstances verging on distress. In Spain he might have ended his days in comfort, where old servants, though no more wanted or liked, are never abandoned.

under similar circumstances with Spain, would not have shown her dislike with more acrimony? Is it supposed that, when Louis XIV pensioned foreign literati; when he went to seek out of his dominions celebrated artists and able manufacturers, he did not raise the hatred of the French, who thought themselves more entitled to his liberality, and were scandalized at the contempt of their merit, and the preference given to foreigners? The vanity and the patience of the Spaniards have been, during almost a century, put to many proofs. In the suite of the French prince who came to reign over them, appeared a multitude of foreigners who occupied all access to the throne; French favourites *, French valets-de-chambre †,

* The marquis de Louville.

† Almost all the valets-de-chambre of Philip V were Frenchmen. On my first residence at Madrid I knew two of them (Toussaint and Arnaud) who, towards the end of his life, had enjoyed great credit with him, and who had received his last breath. They were alive when I quitted Spain in 1787. And, by a singular turn of fortune, they survived for forty years a favour which rendered them important personages, of which they made no other use than to do good, particularly to their countrymen. Philip V, notwithstanding the advice of his grandfather, never ceased for an instant to think himself a Frenchman. I have, from one of his valets-de-chambre, an anecdote which he related himself, and which shows at once his good-nature and his attachment to his former country. The sending back the infanta destined for Louis XV excited at the Spanish court a sensation that bordered on madness. At the first news they had of this, queen Isa-

and French confessors * surrounded the monarch. The princess des Ursins and our ambassadors governed by turns in the cabinet. A Frenchman † came to reform their finances. French generals ‡ were put at the head of their armies; soon after an Italian abbot §, invited by the second wife of Philip V, shook the monarchy by his busy inclination for meddling with the affairs of Europe. His disgrace, the true reward of his tumultuous administration, did not make them easy again for a long time. A Dutchman ||, still more hot-headed, having gained the favour of the monarch, and accumulated in one year all dignities and all appointments, soon left Spain with execrations, carrying with him only the character of a state

bella, more irritated than any body else, broke out into abuse against the French, and obtained from her easy husband an order that they should all, *without exception*, be sent out of the kingdom. The order was signed. Philip V called his valets-de-chambre, made them open his wardrobe and prepare his trunks. The queen entered, and asked what these preparations meant. *Don't you decree*, said Philip frankly, *that all the French should leave Spain? I am a Frenchman, and am preparing for my journey.* The queen smiled, and the order was countermanded.

* Father Aubenton.

† M. Orry.

‡ Marshal Tessé, the duke of Berwick, and the duke de Vendôme.

§ The abbé, afterwards cardinal Alberoni.

|| Ripperda.

criminal. Under the following reign, two foreign nations * ruled in the midst of the Spaniards. An Irish minister † raised himself by intrigues, of which their court is a very stage, and by the lightness of his yoke, and his quality as a stranger, preserved his credit under the new sovereign, who quitted Naples to reign in Spain. Soon after Charles III invited to his court an Italian ‡, to intrust him with the department of the finances; and some years afterwards another Italian §, who replaced the Irish minister. It was also by an Irishman ‖ that the discipline of the infantry was improved, whilst two Frenchmen reformed one ¶ the artillery and the other the construction of ships **. At London, at Stockholm, at Paris, at Vienna, and at Venice, the sovereign was represented by fo-

* The English and the Italian; the first by Mr. Keen, their ambassador, and the other by the musician Farinelli.

† Mr. Wall, an Irishman, born at St. Germain, who, before he came to the ministry, was ambassador from Spain to England.

‡ Squilaci, a Neapolitan, formerly director of the customs, and who had scarcely arrived in Spain when he was created minister, marquis, &c. enjoyed great credit, until Spain, from the bosom of the people, uttered the cry of proscription, which alarmed both the monarch and the minister, *Viva el Rey, muera Squilaci!*

§ The marquis Grimaldi, a Genoese.

‖ Oreilly ¶ Moritz.

** Gauthier.

reigners *. They were strangers who established manufactories †, who presided over the construction of canals and high roads ‡, who directed sieges §, who commanded armies ||, who prepared plans of finance ¶, who made with immense profit advances to government **. In commercial places, foreigners carry all before them by their activity. The richest merchants at Barcelona, Valencia, Cadiz, and Bilboa are foreigners. I have often heard them declaim against the hatred which they inspire in Spain; and I own, if I was astonished at any thing, it was at the docility with which the Spaniards suffer them to be there, at the disposition even to love them, unless repulsed by disdainful and insulting pretensions. And if some Spaniards should look at them with envious eyes; if they should be uneasy at this great concourse of fortunate strangers, whose success seems to cast

* Prince de Masserano, an Italian, ambassador in England; count Lacy, an Irishman, minister at Stockholm; the marquis Grimaldi, ambassador in France, before he came into the ministry; count de Mahony, an Irishman, ambassador at Vienna; the marquis Squilaci, ambassador at Venice, after his retreat from the ministry.

† At Valencia, at Barcelona, at Talavera, at Madrid, &c.

‡ Le Maur.

§ The same Le Maur at Mahon; d'Arçon at Gibraltar.

|| The duke de Crillon, at Mahon and the camp of St. Roche; prince Nassau, on the floating batteries.

¶ M. Cabarrus.

** The French merchants at Madrid.

a reflection on their idleness and ignorance, would they not be excused for having that attachment to the glory of their country, honoured with the fine name, if you please, of patriotism?

But at last the Spaniards, since the end of the last reign, have inherited exclusively from the foreigners so many places, that the reign of Frenchmen, of Irishmen, and particularly of Italians, who are suffered by the Spaniards with much impatience, seems now nearly at an end; and if we except the viceroyalty of Mexico, given to the Neapolitan marquis de Branciforte, brother-in-law to the Prince of Peace, and which at the end of two years was taken from him to be bestowed on a Spaniard; the place of chamberlain to the queen, occupied by the late prince Raffadali, a Neapolitan, disgraced by his court; if we further except a lieutenant-general, an Italian by the father's side, but Flemish by the mother's, the prince de Castel Franco, who commanded the army which Spain opposed to us from Biscay, and some general officers or commanders of corps, the Spaniards are in possession of the principal appointments, of all the ministry, of all the diplomatic missions*, and of the first places in administration. How many

* Except the same prince de Castel Franco, of whom mention is made in the text, and who is ambassador at Vienna; and the marquis de la Grua, a Neapolitan, nephew to the marquis de Branciforte, who after having been at Stockholm is now at Parma in quality of minister.

governments have not been overthrown or put in danger by the domination of foreigners, which ought to be very mild to be even endured! In France were the Medicis, Concini, Mazarin, and Law; in Flanders a duke of Alva; in Switzerland a Geyssler; in Portugal, when temporarily incorporated with Spain, the agents of that power. In Spain an Alberoni, a Ripperda, and a Squilaci. Sovereigns are, however, often more inclined to grant their confidence to those who must owe all to them; who have no other country than the court; no other property than their favour. Do they calculate their interest well? Do they not thus invite the dangers they wish to evade? The most prudent have little distrust, and wish to govern their subjects by affection. This is the only Machiavelism they use, the only one which philosophy can pardon them, the only one which guaranties the stability of their power.

At this price they may be without foreign favourites, or foreign legions, impotent ramparts against the rage of the people, and who are always odious, and more likely to provoke than to restrain it. At the riot in 1765 could the Walloon guards prevent the precipitate flight Charles III was obliged to make from his capital? Could the Swiss guards, notwithstanding their attachment, save Louis XVI?

But let us resume what we have to say concerning the Spanish navy.

The three ports we mentioned are not the only ones in which ships of war are built. There are stocks at the Havannah ; a fund of 700,000 piastres has been destined for the maintenance of these works, where ships are built cheaper than in Europe.

Spain and her colonies could furnish all the wood required by her navy. In 1785 people of the profession were of opinion that only with the assistance of South America, Spain might have increased her navy with fifty ships, and furnished every thing requisite for those already in the service. The following are the resources still left her in Europe.

Andalusia, which produced the best white oak, is exhausted. Her forests are not sufficient for the repairs in the department of Cadiz, which is obliged to purchase timber from Italy, and sometimes to use the cedars of the Havannah.

Carthagena also affords no supply. The white oak the least distant is in Catalonia, and that far up the country.

Ferrol is furnished from the mountains of Burgos, Navarre, and the Asturias. But the forests of the first of these provinces are much thinned. The two others are still well stocked, but their timber is only of a middling quality.

The principal cause of this scarcity of timber in the capital, is the inconsiderate step which government took about 1756. Before roads had been made for their conveyance, trees for the

construction of 112 ships of the line were felled; timber for no more than fifty could be removed; part of the remainder rotted on the ground, and the rest was stolen.

To remedy this scarcity, the colonies present great resources. Cuba still produces much cedar in the interior, though many people, judging from the appearance of its coasts, consider it as exhausted. There is also, near 'Cumana, timber proper for ship-building. There was an intention in 1776 to fell it; but the death of Arriaga, the minister of the marine, prevented its execution. Let us pity the government whose useful enterprises depend on the life of one man.

Spain is therefore still at the mercy of the northern powers, at least for masts. It was ascertained by the account delivered in by the bank, in 1788, that this article alone had cost her in 1785 more than eight millions and a half of reals.

Spain, in her communication with the North, continues to make use of Dutch vessels; but she might soon do without them, if the commerce she has for some years past carried on directly to the Baltic should continue to prosper. She is still nearer doing without the help of foreign nations for a supply of hemp. For a long time she has received from the North all she used in her navy. Latterly she has begun to draw some from Navarre, Arragon, and especially from Grenada; so that at

present almost all her ropes, cables, and sail-cloths are made of Spanish hemp *. Our sailors, as well during the American war as during their stay at Cadiz, extended to the present time, had an opportunity of appreciating its good quality.

The copper of Mexico and Peru is used for sheathing the Spanish vessels; there have been for some years, at Port Real, near Cadiz, and at Algesiras, two workshops for preparing the plates.

The navy of Spain, no doubt, is still far short of perfection. But what strides has she not already made in one century! Under Philip IV she bought her ships ready built from the Dutch, as well as the cordage for her fleet and her galleons; her sails she bought from the French; copper from the Germans; tin and lead from the English; her galleys from the Genoese. She left her woods to rot at the root, and abandoned the growth of hemp. In regard to Mexico and Peru, which contributed to her degeneracy, she neglected to draw from her own mines their means of defence. The evil increased, if possible, under Charles II. Spain was then, like himself, weak and languishing. If we consider her situation at

* The department of Carthagena is obliged to send abroad, particularly to Italy, for the hemp of which cables are made; and in 1804 several cargoes arrived from Riga. It is partly because the calamities under which Spain has of late years suffered, have caused all branches of agriculture to languish.

that period, we cannot but admire the state to which three succeeding sovereigns restored her. Charles V, who left her so flourishing, would not know her again, but his puny and last scion would still less recollect her.

She has at least a navy which puts her on a level with the different maritime powers. For want of wars in Europe, in which for a long time she has taken no very active part, the vicinity of the Barbary states furnishes her with frequent opportunities of exercising her ships. But in these transient and inglorious engagements it is difficult for her officers to acquire reputation. Barceló, who from being master of a sloop attained to the highest rank in the navy, is almost the only one who owes his reputation to these expeditions. Of these states, two in particular always keep employed a part of the Spanish navy, and even of the army; these are Algiers and Morocco. It is not because their strength, especially their marine, is formidable. They would have no means of maintaining it, if the powers who wish their trade to be respected did not furnish them with ammunition and naval stores, and if they did not receive, even from Marseilles, timber for the construction of their vessels.

Ten or twelve years ago the navy of the emperor of Morocco did not consist of more than twenty-two or twenty-three vessels, good and bad, of which the largest were frigates of twenty-

two guns. But his land forces are not to be despised, at least in point of number, because every native is a soldier from the age of twelve years. With this army, badly disciplined, and possessing little courage, the emperor of Morocco has often attempted, but always without success, to take from the Spaniards the town of Melilla, situated at the eastern extremity of his territory.

The Algerines are, or at least were for a long time, a desperate and more formidable enemy. Fifteen or sixteen years ago they had five frigates, from twenty-four to thirty-four guns; three chebecks, of ten, eighteen, and twenty; four half galleons; and three galliots. With this force they tormented the Spaniards till 1784. The court of Madrid at length lost all patience, and, disencumbered from her war with England, determined on another attempt to root out this nest of pirates. She used for this expedition part of the naval stores and artillery destined for the grand combined attack upon Jamaica, the preparations for which had been rendered useless by the peace of 1783. Algiers was bombarded by admiral Barcelo during eight successive days. Near four hundred houses were damaged; but the buildings belonging to the government remained almost unhurt. The attacking squadron consisted of seventy sail, of which four were ships of the line, and six frigates. It lost only one bomb-ketch, but this fruitless ex-

pedition cost the Spaniards four hundred soldiers, and fifteen hundred quintals of powder. The Algerines opposed two half galleys carrying five guns, five galliots of two and four, a felucca of six, two chebecks of four, two bomb galleys, and six sloops carrying one twelve and one twenty-four-pounder.

The expedition in the following year, commanded also by Barcelo, was still more fruitless; although Portugal, Malta, and Naples had assisted Spain with a part of their naval forces. They composed in all a hundred and thirty sail. The Algerines defended themselves with forty-six sloops of war, four bomb-ketches, three armed gun-boats, and three galliots. They lost three or four of their sloops, and had three hundred men wounded; but proved to the combined powers that it would require a greater force to subdue them; and that, if *this horde of brigands* deserved the indignation of all commercial powers, it certainly did not altogether merit their contempt.

In the interval of these two expeditions the heat of the Spanish government had, however, cooled a little, to make room for attempts at negotiation, which the minister, suspicious and jealous of our connexion with the Algerines, took care to make without acquainting us with it. They failed, and the second expedition took place. The Spanish minister was determined to repeat this operation every year, until the regency of

Algiers, fatigued and exhausted, should at last be obliged to make overtures to Spain. He suffered himself however to be persuaded by the officers who had conducted the expedition, and negotiations for peace were renewed by means of a count d'Expilly, half Frenchman, half Austrian; they were afterwards confided to admiral Mazarredo, who was sent for that purpose to Algiers. When the party in Spain that was not for peace saw a stranger on the point of concluding it, they were determined to deprive him of that glory. The Spanish negotiator exceeded the orders of his employers, and his too rapid progress very nearly caused his disgrace. All these negotiations proceeded not only without our consent, which it would have been difficult to obtain, but even without our being made acquainted with them. They obstinately persisted in believing that the principal assistance to the Algerines was furnished by the trading port of Marseilles, and to suspect at least that the cabinet of Versailles was an accomplice with the people of Marseilles. However that may be, the gold of Spain was more efficacious with the Algerines than its bombs had been. Florida Blanca, who some months before had boastingly said, and had published in the court gazette, that Spain would teach Europe how to treat these barbarians; that she was going to give a great example to those powers who had the

meanness to be tributary to them; this minister, who in his turn was obliged to tread in the same track, thought to do his country a great service by purchasing a peace with the Algerines at the price of 14 millions of reals. Ah! Mr. de Florida Blanca, you have presided over the fate of the Spanish monarchy for fifteen years. Your administration was not without éclat, nor even success. You had an attachment for your own country which often bordered on hatred to all nations. You served it, if not with bright discernment, at least with loyalty and disinterestedness. The nobleness of your sentiments overbalanced the stiffness of your character and the excesses of your irascible temper. You have particularly acquired esteem by the firmness with which you have supported a disgrace of which I was a witness, and which the cause I served obliged me to applaud; but you must confess that your conduct with respect to the Algerines was not wise, nor the most brilliant part of your ministry.

Since the peace concluded in 1785, Spain had again some disputes with the Algerines. She felt at last that the possession of Oran and of Mazalquivir, situated on their frontiers, would be an eternal source of misunderstanding between her and that regency; that it was useless; and that the position favoured the desertion of her troops. Oran besides had suffered two evils at once, a siege by the bey of Mascara, and an earthquake

which had made the place a heap of rubbish. Spain, therefore, towards the end of 1791 determined to renounce her pretensions to it, as well as to Mazalquivir, in favour of the regency, reserving only to herself some commercial advantages.

In this manner that famous conquest of cardinal Ximenes fell again into the hands of the barbarians. On the 26th of February 1792, six thousand five hundred men, who formed almost the whole Spanish population, evacuated the city, went round the bay, and proceded to Mazalquivir, where they embarked for Carthagena. Every thing was removed in sight of the Moors, who entered immediately after. Oran could not be preserved but at great expense, and was of no real utility; it would require at least four thousand men to defend it only in part. There were four intrenchments, in form of an amphitheatre, necessary to guard a spring of water, without which the inhabitants could not subsist at Oran, and which the Moors have often attempted to destroy. Spain has given a proof of its wisdom in relinquishing these places. She should not stop there, but should likewise abandon the other presidencies of Africa, which are burdensome to her, and which vain glory alone can stamp with value. She maintains there, particularly at Ceuta, several thousands of galley slaves under the name of *présidiarios*. Those who drag their chains, naked or in rags, and who are employed in laborious works,

amount to four or five thousand. The others, who are less numerous, enjoy a kind of liberty, and go themselves to seek their work. They both receive equal pay, which is very moderate; and in this refuse of the human species are confounded, to the shame of reason and of equity, assassins, rogues of all kinds, smugglers, deserters, and other unhappy beings, who expiate in this contagious society other faults of a less heinous kind.

It was the navy that led to the consideration of the Barbary states. She will as naturally conduct us to commerce, which can have no consistence without her, and which shall be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Spanish commerce in general. Corn laws. Interior commerce. Coasting trade. Commerce of Europe.

THE commerce of Spain has perhaps more branches than that of any other country in the world. It has immense countries to provide for. It has even a great quantity of productions to export, some of which are very much desired, and others absolutely necessary. It played the most active part at the splendid epoch of the Spanish monarchy. Foreign merchants in great numbers came to exchange their goods for the produce of the Spanish territory and of Spanish industry. But under the successors of Charles V these advantages vanished, and Spain for a long time carried on only a passive and disadvantageous commerce. At present, though her agriculture and her manufactures have still much to acquire, it may be presumed, that if she had only herself to provide for with the goods she wants, what she receives from foreigners would at least be balanced by her exports; so that the possession of her American colonies, and the obligation she is under of

providing them with a great number of articles, are the only causes why the balance of trade in Europe is against her. It is true this is compensated by the produce of the mines, which enables her to pay this balance; and from this may be learned that the colonies, at least at present, are not so hurtful to her as is still believed; on the contrary, that in proportion as she augments the productions of her soil and of her manufactures, she finds in her colonies a sale for them, the greatness of which serves in its turn as an encouragement to her industry.

Some of my readers will perhaps think this assertion paradoxical; it would even have been erroneous fifty years ago; but it is more than probable since Spain has awakened from her slumbers. It is proved by those who have studied the extent of her actual resources.

Spain can in the first place draw from her own soil an abundance of almost every necessary of life. We have spoken of her wool and of her cloth, which, though not perfect as yet, may suffice for the wants of the inhabitants. We shall see under the head of Valencia what she makes of her silks. Her brandy, her liqueurs, her fruit, and her barilla, even her oils, make a considerable branch of exportation on her eastern and southern coasts. She has in the interior a sufficient quantity of common wines for her own consumption; wines little known elsewhere, whether from caprice, or because the more northern nations dislike their luscious and

heady quality. Her agriculture, when more improved and encouraged, will furnish her with grain sufficient for exportation. Notwithstanding its imperfect state at present, some provinces, such as Andalusia and Castille, often grow more corn than they can consume. But the difficulty of interior circulation makes this fertility of little advantage to the rest of the kingdom. Bad roads, not a navigable river, not a canal that is in full employ. The conveyance, too, is not only slow but very expensive. It is still remembered at Madrid, that thirty years ago, the supply of that capital, neglected by want of foresight, demanding an extraordinary dispatch, the government were obliged, in order to convey 250 *fanegas* * a day, to assemble from all parts no less than 30 thousand draft animals.

Spain is therefore sometimes at the mercy of foreigners, even when some of her provinces are provided in abundance. But, notwithstanding the outcry which scarcity occasions, she never is deficient in more than a thirtieth part of what she consumes in ordinary †.

* A measure of corn weighing in some parts 90, 100, and even 105 pounds, of which the average price is about 16 reals.

† The years 1803 and 1804 present perhaps an unique example in the annals of Spain, when her misfortunes came on all at once. Contagious disorders, inclemency of the season, scarcity of hands, all united in reducing the produce of the harvest of every province to almost nothing. She was obliged to procure from abroad near nine millions of *fanegas*, the price of which

The following is a proof of it.

Her total consumption may be valued at 60 millions of *fanegas*; the following calculation will render this assertion at least plausible.

Sixty millions of *fanegas*, weighing on an average 90lbs. each, make 440,000,000 pounds of corn, which divided amongst 10,500,000 consumers, allow for each somewhat less than 520 pounds a year, *i. e.* less than a pound and a half per day.*

The exactness of our calculation may be called in question by all who, like the French, insist that every individual of a nation consumes one with another two pounds of bread every day; but it will not appear so to any one who observes—1st, that the *fanega* of several cantons of Spain weighs more than 90 pounds; 2dly, that the population is not quite ten millions and a half; 3dly, that maize supplies the inhabitants in some provinces instead of corn; 4thly, that the Spaniards consume in general less bread than the French. It may therefore be considered as very probable, that the

rose beyond all proportion. It is no exaggeration to value the cost at 45 millions of hard piastres, calculating the *fanega* at 100 reals; and it is known that at Seville and Cadiz, places so favourably situated, the *fanega* was sold for 150 and even 200 reals. What are we to think of a country that, in spite of the defects of its administration, could provide for such an enormous increase of expense?

common consumption of Spain is about sixty millions of *fanegas*.

Forty ships at most that bring the corn cannot contain more than two millions, and this is notwithstanding sufficient for these temporary wants exaggerated by a false terror. Spain therefore left entirely to herself can never experience a real famine*. Where is the nation that could not without much effort diminish her consumption a thirtieth part? It will not be doubted after what passed in France in 1794 and 1795.

In the mean while, on the slightest appearance of scarcity, the only remedy known in Spain, as well as elsewhere, is the prohibition of exports, a measure at least unnecessary and often disastrous, because it deprives the fertile provinces of the certainty of an advantageous market, which ought to be encouraged to assist them in triumphing over local obstacles.

In Spain there is not at present any fixed law concerning corn. Until the reign of Charles III the exportation of it was prohibited almost without interruption, and the price fixed at an invariable rate. The inconvenience of these shackles was at last felt, and M. de Campomanis, at that

* See in the preceding note the modifications of which our assertions are susceptible in very extraordinary circumstances.

time fiscal of the council of Castille, succeeded in breaking them. In 1765 an edict established that the interior commerce in corn should be entirely free; that public magazines should be formed where on pressing occasions it might be sold at the current price; that liberty should be given to diminish it when it had kept up to a certain price three succeeding market days; that corn might be imported, and introduced six leagues into the country, &c. This regulation was soon after modified; exportation was even entirely prohibited in 1769; but the regulations of 1765 were re-established in full in 1783.

All these variations can only tend to nourish the timidity and idleness of cultivators. A more stable law, and particularly one more observed, is wanting. For that which permits exportation is continually eluded by the caprice or cupidity of the alcaldes and commanders on the frontiers; and when nothing opposes, there are so many formalities to be observed before exportation can be effected, that it happens very rarely in the way the law authorizes it. The manner of conveyance must prevent the smuggling of corn out of the kingdom, more than most people imagine; on the other hand, it is certain that much enters Spain at different ports. Galicia and the Asturias often receive a considerable foreign supply, although the people consume a great deal

of maize. Biscay conveys it into the province of Alava, into Navarre and Arragon, and even to foreign ports, by the way of St. Sebastian. All the eastern coast of Spain is continually in want of corn; and the kingdom of Valencia procures it from abroad, when at the same time La Mancha, which almost always has abundance, cannot supply her. Even Andalusia, notwithstanding her fertility, receives foreign corn by her ports of Cadiz and Malaga*. Hardly any where but towards the frontiers of Portugal could corn be exported with advantage. That kingdom never grows corn sufficient, and the neighbouring provinces of Spain have often an abundance and to spare.

The superfluity of corn in Spain is principally in Old Castille, and is conveyed by St. Andero and the neighbouring ports to Galicia, the Asturias, Andalusia, and even to France, as happened in 1782 and 1783. Even this exportation is not

* The kingdom of Valencia procures corn principally from Italy and Barbary. That which she receives from La Mancha is dearer, because it can be conveyed only by mules. In time of peace the price is less, because the muleteers bring corn to Valencia when they come to the coast for salt fish, an article indispensable in the country: but in time of war they must return empty. Besides, frequent dry seasons cause a scarcity in La Mancha, and therefore the assistance this province can give to Valencia is far from being certain.

effected but in spite of the rooted prejudices in old Castille; prejudices which from experience should cease; and the regulation of 1765 has been justified by the increase of corn almost one third since it was put in force.

About the same time another measure was adopted for the encouragement of agriculture, viz. the institution of *positos*. These are magazines of corn established in more than five thousand communes in Spain, to insure the subsistence of the people against all accidents, and to prevent even alarm, which in this delicate matter is often equivalent to the evil itself. Whenever one of these *positos* is determined on in any place, the municipal magistrates (*ayuntamiento*) oblige every inhabitant who has a field, whether proprietor or only tenant, to contribute a certain number of *funegas*. The following year the inhabitant takes what he had furnished, and replaces it with a somewhat larger quantity of new corn: and so on every year, until the aggregate of all these exceedings, called *creces*, has filled the magazine. But this event is protracted by the cupidity of the managers; for there are few *positos* in Spain that do not enrich their superintendants at the expense of the poor. For some years past, however, an attempt has been made to prevent these abuses by bringing back the *positos* to their primary object, to make them an encouragement to the husbandman, and even to consecrate the

surplus to the relief of those who may want grain at the season for sowing *.

Besides these public granaries, there are many established by private charity, which furnish the less opulent cultivators with corn for sowing. There are also, in some places, as at Valencia and Malaga, *monts de piété*, or *erarios*, the funds of which are destined to make advances to labourers for one year only. These funds are taken from the produce of the *spolios y vacantes* †.

All these helps, however, all these palliatives, which prove more the good intention than the judgement of those who instituted them, are not sufficient to give life to agriculture. Its languor proceeds from a radical fault, which would not be done away if even the plan for facilitating the conveyance of her productions should be put in complete execution. In Spain, property is too much extended, and the country too thinly inhabited. A number of circumstances combine to discourage agriculture. We shall only quote one. The

* This resource of the agriculturists was cut off by the last war, the king having seized the *positos* for the supply of his armies; promising to make satisfaction, *in more prosperous times, for these temporary and forced spoliations.* That at Madrid, however, still exists, and was a great relief to the inhabitants during the disastrous year 1804.

† But they are ill conducted.

privileges of the *mesta*, extended even to the proprietors of permanent sheep-walks, oblige the husbandman to leave his fields open at all times; so that from the day after the harvest until he sows his fields again, they belong more to the public than to himself*.

How different is agriculture now in Spain to what it was in the time of the Moors! We have instanced lately an unanswerable proof of it in the protracted publication of a work by an Arabian doctor of the 12th century, which had been till 1751 covered with the dust of the Escurial, but was at last translated, and given to the public in 1802. It appears by this work, which shows its author to be extremely well versed in books on agriculture of all countries, that in his time this science was brought in Spain to the highest degree of perfection. Mention is made of a great number of useful vegetables, for which the soil of Spain was very proper at that time, but to which it is in our days almost an entire stranger: such are the sugar-cane, a species of rice that grows

* The defects of agriculture have been exposed in the most luminous manner by *don Gaspar Melchior de Jovellanos*, in a paper which makes part of a volume of Memoirs published in 1796 by the Patriotic Society of Madrid. The remedies are there pointed out as well as the evils; but the advice of a citizen equally commendable for his zeal as for his talents, clashed too much with the interest of many not to remain a long time without effect.

without the continual assistance of water, the cotton tree, the pistachio, the banana tree, the sesame, &c. without counting many other plants exclusively appropriated to the taste and manners of the Arabians. Besides these advantages, which this industrious people had over the inhabitants of modern Spain, they had also those resulting from a profound study of the nature of various soils, of the composition and uses of the best manure, and of the labour necessary before sowing*. Many existing proofs show that the success in practice of this people answered to their calculations in theory; and must make us regret that the country which so unwisely expelled them has not inherited their method.

Of what importance would not agriculture be to Spain, were it more encouraged! Nothing is equal to the natural fertility of most of her provinces: their corn is of the best quality; the wheat loses no more than five per cent. in the grinding, whilst in the northern countries it loses fifteen: hence the difference in price of this kind of grain is very striking. Sometimes the wheat of Andalusia has fetched at Seville double the price of that imported into Cadiz from the north.

Until government shall enliven the interior of Spain by roads and canals, scarcely any other

* A learned Portuguese, M. Correa de Serra, resident for some time at Paris, has given an excellent abstract of this work in No. V and VI of the *Archives Littéraires.*

trade will be carried on than that of wine and oils, conveyed by mules and asses from one province to another: of grain, likewise carried by beasts of burden to supply a neighbouring province; and particularly that of wool, which from the two Castilles takes the road to the northern ports. Materials necessary for manufactures, goods that pass either from the frontiers or from the sea-ports into the interior, are conveyed in the same expensive manner.

Spain is little more advanced in the coasting trade. If the Catalonian and Biscayan vessels be excepted, this commerce is almost entirely in the hands of the French, the English, and the Dutch, three nations who have the advantage over the Spaniards in being more active, in understanding their business better, and navigating at less expense and with fewer seamen. What till now obliged the Spaniards to be somewhat active, has their almost perpetual wars with the Barbary states; these have only tended to inspire a disrespect for their flag. Government, however, has recently felt the necessity of removing this principal obstacle to their navigation in the Mediterranean.

With respect to foreign trade, Spain as yet plays a very passive part. To be convinced of this, let us make a rapid tour round her coasts.

Those of Catalonia appear at once an exception. Scarcely any of the reproaches that we cast on the Spaniards are applicable to the Catalonians.

The port of Barcelona exports silk stuffs, middling cloths, cottons, chintzes, wines, and brandy, all the production of the country; and to know what share the Catalonians have in this trade, it is sufficient to say that, in 1782, of 628 vessels which entered Barcelona, 317 were Spanish. It is true that by the same port some silk stuffs from Lyons, stockings from Nimes, and many cotton goods enter Catalonia, in spite of the prohibition: but particularly a great quantity of salt fish, an article for which England receives near three millions of piastres per annum, enters Spain by Barcelona;—a remarkable circumstance in the history of commerce, that a nation of heretics should supply a catholic kingdom with an eatable which they alone know how to prepare for the taste of the consumers, take from their coasts the salt with which the fish are cured *, and catch those fish near the same island of Newfoundland of which they made the discovery. It would seem as if this dependence was an irrevocable decree of fate; for the attempts made to substitute fish caught on the coasts of Biscay and the Asturias have been in vain, and only served to prove that laws, policy, interest itself, disappear before the caprice of taste †.

* The salt which the English use for their cod is procured on the coast of Setubal, and still more of Alicant; where their vessels, sometimes in ballast, come to take in their lading to carry it to Newfoundland.

† The consumption of English cod diminished during the war that terminated with the peace of Amiens, although

The other ports of Catalonia are very nearly in the same case with Barcelona. Tarragona and the neighbouring ports receive provisions, and export dried fruits: Tortosa exports or imports corn, according as the crop in Arragon and Catalonia has been good or bad; and particularly exports a great deal of alkali.

The ports on the coast of Valencia likewise carry on a considerable trade, generally to our advantage. We send there linens, woollens, haberdashery, spices, and grain, and take back their equivalent in wine, wool, dried fruit, alkali, and barilla. We go to Gandia for the wool employed in our manufactures at Languedoc and Elbeuf, and carry there our cloth, linens, haberdashery, &c. The English also send their cloth there, and the Dutch fetch brandy.

Alicant has been till now the most flourishing trading town, after Cadiz and Barcelona, in all Spain, and her port has received the most national vessels. Of 961 which entered it in 1782, six hundred were Spanish, and most of them Catalonian. Alicant exports more than any other town in Spain, wines, brandy, almonds, aniseed, salt, saffron, &c.

neutrals brought it to Spain under the name of French. The Norway stockfish has supplanted the former in some provinces, especially in Barcelona, where it is preferred to the English cod; but all the rest of Spain have a distinguished predilection for the last, though not so good as the Norway.

and about a hundred thousand quitals of barilla, of which 80 go to France and the rest to England. The port of Alicant, which is nothing but an open and safe road, with little depth, is the staple of all the goods coming from the Mediterranean destined for the consumption of Spain*.

Alicant has suffered much by the last war with England: her port has hardly been frequented but by neutrals, who come to load with the productions of the country. Amongst the articles exported from this town must not be forgotten a kind of cochineal called *de grana*, and which is commonly used with that of America, although inferior. It is a little insect resembling that which makes the real cochineal, and is gathered on the oak trees that grow in abundance in the environs of Bussots, some leagues distant from Alicant.

The salt called after this town is not, properly speaking, its own production: it is collected from two ponds very near one another, and without communication with the sea; they are called *La Mata* and *Torre vecchia*, and are half way from Alicant to Carthagena. The evaporation

* Alicant of late years has not received nearly so many national vessels. The two last wars have every where suspended the activity of the Spanish shipping. But no less than eight hundred Swedish vessels have entered it in a year. The customs of Alicant are amongst the most productive in Spain.

caused by the sun alone, covers the surface with a froth that is collected in the month of August in dry weather; but heavy rains often cause a failure in the produce. The ponds of *La Mata* and *Torre vecchia* are two almost inexhaustible sources of salt, which might supply all Europe with that article. The produce, which is annually from twenty to forty millions of pounds weight, is carried to Alicant, where the northern nations, particularly the English, to whom this salt is necessary for their pickling, and the Swedes, come to fetch it, and the exports amount annually to three hundred thousand barrels, each weighing about 3 cwt.

The wines of Alicant are of different kinds; the principal is that red luscious wine, the only one much known out of Spain: a small quantity of muscat white wine is also made; and lastly a wine called *Aloca*, for the common use of the country, and of which a portion is exported to Cadiz and Gibraltar. The red luscious wines when new are of a colour almost as dark as ink, and are sometimes sent to Bourdeaux, where they are used in giving colour and body to the wines of the country.

Almost all the wine called Alicant grows very near this town. The vineyards begin at half league distance from it, in the canton called *Huerta de Alicante*, which owes its surprising fecundity to a neighbouring pond that supplies it with water. This reservoir, which belongs to the

king, is surrounded by a wall 60 feet in height, and broad enough for three waggons to go abreast: it is a remain of the works of the Moors, who have all over Spain left traces of their industry.

At Carthagena the English, the Dutch, and the Neapolitans import all kinds of merchandize, and load again with silk stuffs, wool, alkali, and barilla.

The French have the principal trade of Almeria. They carry there our manufactures, and take back lead and alkali.

From Velez, Malaga, and Marbella, wine and fruit are exported, principally by foreign vessels.

Malaga has a very considerable trade, which is all in favour of Spain, but scarcely at all profitable to its navigation. The English carry woollens and haberdashery, the Germans several articles of mercery, the Dutch, spices, cutlery, laces, &c. All that these nations, and those of the north and of Italy, import there, amounts to about a million and a half of piastres, and their exports to about two millions and a half. The Spanish themselves take so little share in this commerce, that in 1792, amongst the shoal of vessels that entered and departed from Malaga, there were scarcely sixty of its own nation.

Cadiz, the trade of which will make a separate article, proves more than any other port the inactivity of the Spanish merchant service. Scarce a tenth part of the vessels which enter belong to

Spain. For some years past, however, the Spaniards have increased their activity in this port, more than in any other.

San Lucar and Santa Maria are in this respect, on a small scale, what Cadiz is on a great one.

From the coasts of Andalusia going to the northward, we find the French, English, and Dutch in possession of the trade of Vigo, Ferrol, and particularly Corunna, and it consists almost all in importation; for their anchovies, cattle, and coarse linens, the only articles the Galicians can export, serve to pay the balance with the neighbouring provinces. Corunna owes to Charles III a little export trade with America by means of the packets, one of which goes every month to Vera Cruz by the Canaries, Porto Rico, and Cuba; one every two months for Cumana and Carthagena in America; and a third also every two months for Monte Video. By these three points the correspondence with the interior of the Spanish colonies is carried on, and a periodical communication with the mother country is thus kept up for the colonies. This establishment, the object of which is the carrying letters and passengers to the different parts of Spanish America, has of late been extended and improved. It has some secondary advantages, as it opens a mart for the productions of Galicia, and employs nearly a

thousand sailors, besides enlivening all the neighbouring country.

The packets were eight in number when the war of 1779 broke out. Several of them fell into the hands of the enemy. The same thing has happened in succeeding wars; thus rendering her communication with America very difficult.

At present there are at Corunna for this purpose 5 trading frigates, one of 390 tons and four of 120, 3 brigs and 1 corvette; also 4 vessels from 80 to 100 tons burden, and two galliots at Porto Rico.

During the combined war against us, Spain had established a provisional packet that sailed once a week for Falmouth, from whence she had a very rapid communication with England and the North. But let us continue our commercial route along the coasts of Spain.

The Asturias have eighteen ports, the names of which are hardly known, and where the Dutch exclusively engross the trade. A little before the American war, the English and the French, who had been many years driven from them, appeared there again with their linens, woollens, and haberdashery. There are however some vessels of the country which go to France and England for what this province wants; and since the establishment of the free trade with South America,

the commerce of Gijon, the most important of all these ports, has begun to revive.

The country adjacent to the Asturias is called the *Montañas de Burgos*. It is one of the cantons of Spain the least provided with resources. Government, to indemnify it for its inconveniency of situation, has permitted it to receive all the necessaries of life without paying any duty. But all sorts of merchandize being under this pretence introduced by the sea-ports on the coast, government has adopted vigilant measures to prevent the abuse of this concession. From hence the many acts of rigour, and even of malice, exercised against strangers, especially against the French, the people of Europe who, at least till the time of the rupture, seemed in this respect to have enjoyed an exclusive privilege.

Saint Andero is the principal port on this coast, which about a hundred vessels from our ports enter, carrying every article of consumption whatever. These vessels load again with wool for our manufactures, and with corn for the other provinces of Spain, even sometimes for ours.

The English take the same articles, and bring in return salt-fish, fish oil, &c. Some Hamburgh and Dutch vessels also come to St. Andero. The establishment of a free trade has also begun to reanimate the national navigation, on account of lending their flag to the Biscayans. The adjacent ports, such as *Suances, Comillas,*

Vivero, *San Vincent de la Barquera* *, carry on a little coasting trade with the small craft of the country. *Santona*, which has an excellent harbour, sends several vessels with chesnuts to Holland, and some cargoes of lemons to France.

This coast, the trade of which, as has been seen, is almost entirely in the hands of foreigners, touches that of Biscay, the most active next to Catalonia. Its principal ports, especially Bilboa, are much frequented by the French, the English, and Dutch, who bring the productions of their industry, and return with iron, wool, and anchors. The Biscayans, on their part, have an uninterrupted correspondence in their own vessels with the other ports of the peninsula, and with those of France, England, and Holland.

A few words on the trade of the Balearic islands will complete this slight essay on the Spanish commerce.

The island of Majorca, the principal of the three, although containing no more than eighty thousand inhabitants, exports oranges, almonds, oils, and wines, which she sends to Spain; brandy, which ships from the North come to fetch; a little silk that

* The two last have been of late admitted to the rank of *puertos habilitados*, a name given in Spain to such ports as have the liberty of trading with Spanish America. This concession cannot fail to draw these ports in time from their obscurity.

goes to Catalonia; some coarse woollens which are taken by the Sardinians and the Italians; and inlaid work, in which the people of Majorca excel. She takes in return, corn from the ports of France and Italy; cattle from Languedoc and Catalonia; rice and silk stuffs from the coast of Valencia. The English, the Dutch, and especially the Genoese and the French, provide her with every thing else she wants. The people of Majorca have, however, like most islanders, a taste and aptitude for navigation. Their timber is made use of at Palma, the capital of the island, and its principal port. They go themselves to Marseilles to fetch cocoa, sugar, iron, and deals; and their chebecks go for some cargoes to Cadiz. Their activity would still be greater if they had nothing to fear from the Barbary states. She has, however, received a new stimulus by the establishment of a free trade.

Minorca, not fertile and almost without industry, was supplied with every thing by foreign ships, and especially by ours, before she was conquered by Spain. The people of Minorca do not appear to me to have gained, at least in their commerce, by the change*, and would perhaps

* In fact, the Minorcans are still little affected to the Spaniards; but they were so ill treated by the English during the last war, that in the first moments they might perhaps not have been sorry if the peace had taken them from under their yoke. They have, however, to regret the freedom of their

have consoled themselves if the peace of Amiens had left them to the dominion of their ancient sovereign.

The island of *Ivica* has for its principal riches the salt which foreign vessels, particularly the Swedes, come to fetch. She exports besides a trifle, and receives her necessaries from Majorca and the Spanish coasts.

These are more proofs than necessary to show the passive part the Spaniards play in commerce; but the liberty to trade directly with the Indies has already operated, and will operate still more, a favourable change for them in this respect; which the following chapter will explain.

trade under the transient dominion of the English, and of which they have been deprived by the Spaniards.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the relation between Spain and her colonies. Establishment of a free trade. The ministry of Galvez.

AFTER the conquest of South America, the court of Madrid intrusted the administration of it to a permanent body called the *council of the Indies*, which still subsists almost with the same laws and on the same principles which circumtances at that time caused to be adopted. The organization which she gave at that period to those vast possessions belongs not to my subject. I shall say no more of it than is necessary to exhibit modern Spain with relation to her colonies.

The *council of the Indies*, as well as that of Castille, is composed of several chambers or halls, two of which have more especially the affairs of administration under their direction, and one chamber is appropriated to the decision of lawsuits. Like that of Castille, the council has its *camera*, which proposes to the king the nomination to places in Spanish America. The laws that govern the colonies also originate with

it, which having always been a permanent depositary of those on which the constitution was founded, is certainly averse to any measures which might alter it. One of its laws confined the trade of Spain with her colonies to a single port, which was at first Seville; and when the Guadalquivir became inaccessible to ships of great burden, the centre of this commerce was removed to Cadiz. It is unnecessary to repeat what every body knows of the fleet formerly sent for the supply of Mexico, and of the galleons that touched at Porto Bello. It will be sufficient to remember that they were continued till 1739, when, instead of galleons, register ships were substituted, without their sailing any more at fixed periods. But these ships, and the fleet for Mexico, continued to go from the port of Cadiz only.

The coast of the Caraccas, however, received her supply elsewhere. Philip V had charged the company of Guispuscoa, of whom we have spoken before, with it; but they enjoyed the advantages of this exclusive privilege, without any formal concession of it. A bad administration, in enriching its agents and exciting the complaints of the colonists, prepared its downfall. The loss which she experienced at the beginning of the American war, and which at that time was estimated at fifteen hundred thousand piastres, put the finishing hand to it. She felt, and prevailed in being disengaged from, the obligation of maintain-

ing guarda costas, which cost her 200,000 piastres annually, although they were of no use. She has preserved the same means of trading to the Caraccas, with great advantage, under the new regulations.

The first trial made by Philip V was followed by others. Ferdinand VI, in 1755, had granted permission to a company of merchants at Barcelona to make some expeditions to St. Domingo, Porto Rico, and Margaretta. But there were so many restrictions imposed, that the company made no use of it.

In 1763, the morning of a new day began to shine on Spanish America. The inconvenience of confining the trade of such vast colonies to a single port, and to periodical expeditions, had been frequently, but always vainly, represented to government. Two trials, at wide intervals, intimidated it. Under Charles V an attempt was made to establish a free trade, which, however, was soon after relinquished. From 1748 to 1754 some register ships had sailed from other ports than Cadiz; but numerous failures resulted from this measure, and the scheme was quickly abandoned. It was urged, that better laws, suited to the time and the nature of these expeditions, would prevent these ruinous rising speculations; that America, when her wants and her resources were better known, would not present such formidable obstacles; that the old routine exposed the colonies

to a ruinous monopoly on one hand, and on the other left an opening for contraband trade.

A tariff established in 1720 seemed calculated for the advantage of those engaged in this trade.

This tariff burdened the productions of the mother country with an export duty. A ridiculous duty, called *palméo*, was established on bales, not in proportion to the quality of the goods they contained, but to their bulk; a duty which concealed the quantity and quality of foreign manufactures that were embarked for the Indies. It imposed, in a word, a crowd of vexatious formalities on the fair trader; and the smuggler joined to the advantage of eluding them, that of defrauding the customs of from 70 to 100 per cent. going and coming. The English had in this manner so profited by smuggling, that after the peace of 1763 it was worth twenty millions of piastres to them per annum.

The Spanish government at last opened its eyes. But too often circumspect even to distrust, prudent even to tediousness, it was satisfied to try another experiment on a part of the colonies. In 1765 she permitted several of her ports in Europe to trade directly with the Spanish Antilles, and the provinces of *Campeachy*, *Saint Martha*, and *Rio de la Hacha*. A decree diminished the duties of the tariff of 1720, and dispensed with many formalities.

The Spaniards at first did not eagerly embrace

this new measure. The island of Cuba became the principal object of their timid speculations. It could, it is true, when well cultivated, supply all Europe with sugar, but in 1770 did not furnish even sufficient for the consumption of Spain only. Speculators have since become more courageous. Government has given new encouragement to the trade with the Havannah, particularly in facilitating the importation of negroes by a considerable diminution in the duty formerly paid for them on their entry into the island. The company which undertook to furnish them exclusively was nearly ruined in this enterprise; but the new regulations soon put it in their power to repair their losses. The island of Cuba from that time has prospered very sensibly. She had always suffered under the conduct of the exclusive company of the Havannah. Before 1765 she received hardly five or six vessels annually; and in 1778 more than two hundred were employed in her trade, and her crop of sugar began already to exceed the wants of Spain.

It was at this time scarcely two years that the ministry of the Indies had devolved on Galvez, a despotic and austere man, but who was not without talents and spirit. He had traversed a great part of Spanish America, knew the character, the wishes, the wants, and the resources of the colonies, and thought the time was come to free them from their heavy shackles, and to procure to most of them a free trade.

[illegible] the free trade indeed [illegible] extended to the province of Buenos Ayres, [illegible] and Peru; the 16th of October following, to the vice-royalty of Santa Fe, and to the province of Guatimala. It embraced therefore all Spanish America except Mexico.

The decree of the 16th of October admitted to this trade the ports of Seville, Cadiz, Malaga, Almeria, Carthagena, Alicant, Tortosa, *Barcelona,* Saint Andero, Gijon, Corunna, Palma in the island of Majorca, and Santa Cruz in Teneriffe *. The Biscayans alone, on account of their aversion to custom-houses, are, as we have already said, excluded from this advantage.

The same regulation extended the free trade to the twenty-four ports in Spanish America, and favoured such of the ports as wanted it with a diminution of the duties.

One of the principal objects of this regulation being to encourage the exportation of the productions of the mother country, it exempted from duties for ten years, the woollens, cottons, linens, and hemp, of Spanish manufactory, hats, steel, glass, &c.

* These ports are known in Spain under the name of *puertos habilitados*. Their number has been augmented lately; but all the ports in Spain are not as yet *puertos habilitados*; [illegible] have [illegible] the liberty of trading directly to South America.

By the same regulation great numbers of foreign goods, such as cottons, half-beaver hats, silk stockings, and generally all liquid merchandise coming from other countries, such as wines, oils, brandy, and other articles known in Spain under the name of *caldos*, were entirely excluded from the commerce of the Indies; and to render this trade reciprocally advantageous, the regulation of 1778 exempted from one-third of the duties all vessels that were entirely loaded with national merchandise, and from all duty on exportation many Indian productions, such as cotton, sugar, cochineal, indigo, coffee, copper, bark, and all those from South America as well as from the Philippine islands, which before had not been brought to Europe; a long train of benefits which the New World promised to the Old, and which will perhaps decide the grand question, whether the discovery of America has been useful or hurtful to the human species. What compensations (if such they are) for some odious presents she has made us! how many different woods, what minerals, what fruits, what new food, what salutary balsams, what shrubs, what flowers, what medicinal plants, what objects to increase our enjoyments and extenuate our evils, and consequently to procure to man that portion of moderate happiness of which he is susceptible on this earth! Why must the possessors of these

treasures dispense them to Europe only with a sparing hand? Why must they come through a maze of custom-house chicanery, as if fate had pronounced irrevocably that the evils should come to us in torrents, and the good only in drops?

The precious metals, of which it would be difficult to decide to which of these two classes they belong, made a separate article in the regulation of 1778. Formerly gold on entering Spain paid five, and silver ten per cent. These duties have been lowered to two and five and a half.

There are certain articles from their colonies necessary to the Spaniards, who either consume or manufacture them. The exportation of them to foreigners is entirely prohibited by the regulation; such as silver in ingots, gold in any form, spun cotton, timber, &c.

America produces many more articles little known in Europe, of which the mother country should favour the exportation from her ports. The regulation which exempts them from paying duty on going out of the country extends this exemption to their exportation from Spain; such are woods, gums, plants, and drugs, which are abundant in America, and which, placed by nature out of the reach of the inhabitants of the old continent, should long ago have been made common by commerce.

All these measures would have been insufficient

if the mass of duties established in 1720 had remained. The new regulation substitutes a single one in their place, which is a fixed part of the value of the merchandize. It is accompanied with a tariff by which they are all valued, some by weight, such as iron; others by measure, such as cloth; others by the piece, such as stuffs; some by the dozen; those in short which cannot be valued in any of these ways, are rated according to the price current in the manufactory where they are made, if Spanish, or according to the prices in the port where they are embarked, if foreign.

After these several valuations, which still leave sufficient scope for arbitrary decisions, the tariff subjects national goods to a duty of three per cent., and of seven on foreign, when either the one or the other are embarked for any of the principal ports of America, such as the *Havannah*, *Carthagena*, *Buenos Ayres*, *Montevideo*, *le Callao*, *Arica*, *Guayaquil*, *Valparayso*, and *la Conception*: and this duty is no more than one and a half or four per cent. when the goods are intended for the small ports called *puertos menores*.

This regulation, wise as it appears, excited many complaints. If left, they said, much undone with respect to the encouragement of national productions. It was dictated more by financial interest than

motives for the general good. Why are foreign articles, which for a long time the home manufactories would not be able to make, such for instance as silk stockings, excluded from the trade with America? Was it not inviting the Spanish manufacturers, convinced of their inability, to concert measures with foreigners to supply the defect? And this necessary assistance, easy to be obtained in spite of prohibitions, would it not, whilst favouring their idleness, at the same time make their looms stand still?

The mortifying formalities to which the shipping for America was subjected were particularly attacked: it was stated, that it was exposed to the caprices of partiality, and to the inconveniences of delay; which joined to the evasion of a duty of seven per cent. going and coming, besides the absolute prohibition of certain articles, offered a great temptation to smuggling.

Could a trade, said the malcontents, be called *free*, that was loaded with such shackles; for every operation of which it wanted the express permission of the minister, a permission acquired by intrigue, and which the ill-will or the delay of the intermediate agents might cause to come too late? Instead of finding the advantages of liberty, you found almost in every article of this new regulation, prohibitions, menaces, and punishments.

These complaints were particularly made by the merchants at Cadiz. They alone had hitherto had any connexion with the Spanish colonies; they alone possessed large capitals for such distant expeditions, the returns of which, often long delayed, were exposed to every danger. Their competitors, said they, would at all events, to the loss of the commerce of Cadiz, expose themselves to ruinous enterprises without the fate of the colonists being ameliorated.

It was easy to discover amidst these sinister conjectures, the voice of interest. Experience has proved whether they were well founded.

The following will show the effect this regulation had the first year, on the seven principal ports that had then taken a share of the free trade.

Ships which sailed in 1778.		*Amount of home goods.*	*Amount of foreign.*		*Duty paid.*	
		reals de v.	reals.	m.	reals.	m.
Cadiz . . .	63	13,308,062	36,901,940		2,677,060	
Corunna . .	25	2,787,671	2,673,076	1	287,397	30
Barcelona . .	23	6,531,635	2,100,526	3	335,360	14
Malaga . . .	34	3,425,504	519,085		144,739	24
St. Andero .	13	765,155	3,992,295	18	306,482	18
Alicant . . .		211,969	92,340		12,948	10
Santa Cruz de Teneriffe .	9	1,206,625	.....		69,435	23
TOTAL...	170	28,036,619	46,278,342	22	3,833,424	15

Ships returned from Spanish America in 1778.

Ports to which they returned.	*Number of vessels.*	*Value of goods returned.*	*Duty they paid.*
		reals.	reals.
Cadiz	57	34,410,285	975,534
Corunna	21	27,333,132	1,725,460
Barcelona	25	4,308,551	77,271
Malaga	10	989,829	4,791
Saint Andero	8	4,594,099	33,612
Alicant	8	1,195,827	0
Santa Cruz de Teneriffe	6	1,726,568	111,197
TOTAL	135	74,558,292	2,927,857

Ten years afterwards this trade was very considerably increased. Twelve ports instead of seven had embraced it. The exportation of home goods had quintupled; that of foreign merchandize trebled; and the returns from America were augmented more than nine-tenths.

It is by an exhibition of such views, better than by any reasoning, that the prosperity of a country can be judged of. The reader will compare the year 1778 with that of 1788.

View of the Spanish American trade in 1788.

Names of the ports.	*Value of home goods.*	*Value of foreign goods.*	*Value of the returns from America.*
	reals.	reals.	reals.
Seville.....	3,811,039	573,688	129,970
Cadiz.....	91,252,427	121,533,827	635,315,832
Malaga.....	12,752,045	1,347,354	11,869,524
Barcelona.....	29,688,392	2,083,317	35,446,496
Corunna.....	9,993,537	.....	81,625,588
Saint Sebastian..	364,547	3,179,534	11,355,430
Tortosa.....	864,384	14,464	245,235
Saint Andero....	5,082,866	11,277,950	26,295,925
Gijon.....	61,775	1,131,992	642,091
Alicant.....	542,576	32,600	635,110
Palma.....	598,875	.....	274,095
Canaries.....	2,210,576	1,319,624	2,863,437
TOTAL.....	158,223,039	142,494,290	804,693,733

From this view it results that in 1788 the value of the exports for Spanish America was . . . . . reals. 300,717,229

Returns to Europe amounted to 804,693,733

Therefore the returns have exceeded the exports by 503,976,204

What better proof can be given of the advantages of the American trade as well to Spaniards as foreigners? Can it be said that the regulations

of 1778, imperfect as they are, have not contributed to the welfare of the colonies? Even the finances have gained considerably.

	reals.
In 1778 the total of the duties on exports and imports amounted to	6,761,291
In 1788 they amounted to . .	55,456,949
Increase	48,695,658

Notwithstanding the evidence of the salutary effects the regulations of 1778 had produced, it was this same year, 1788, the object of severe criticism from Spaniards the most enlightened. The regulations were reprobated for having still left a great scope for contraband trade; and they attempted to prove it by a statement somewhat different from that we have made.

Before 1778, said they, the contraband was almost half the trade of Mexico, and much more than half that of Terra Firma and the province of Buenos Ayres. Therefore a great quantity of piastres struck in America went immediately to foreign nations.

It is for instance well known, that from 1767 to 1778, inclusive, there were

coined	187,579,451
Of which entered Spain only .	103,889,652
The difference between imports and exports	83,689,799

have therefore been taken from America by clandestine commerce.

Well, continued these austere censors of the new regulations, the smuggling trade seems to have been still augmented since that time.

It was calculated that during the six years posterior to the establishment of the free trade, FIFTY-SIX MILLIONS THREE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIX THOUSAND AND TWENTY-NINE HARD PIASTRES, near the whole of the coined piastres, were exported from America, i. e. near NINE MILLIONS FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND annually; whilst during the ten preceding years there went out by the same way no more than EIGHTY-THREE MILLIONS SIX HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINE PIASTRES, being EIGHT MILLIONS FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND LESS per annum.

Would not one, according to them, from this difference draw deductions unfavourable to the establishment of the free trade?

And how, continue they, should the regulations of 1778 not favour smuggling? South America has such immense coasts, that government, notwithstanding the strictest vigilance of its agents, cannot sufficiently guard them. Although this regulation has diminished a great number of expenses on direct commerce, it has left enough to enable strangers to go and sell their goods themselves to the colonists twenty and twenty-five per cent. cheaper than the Spaniards. To favour the home manufactures, it has laid a duty

of fourteen per cent. on foreign goods, which has been augmented in some ports of America with five, eight, and even ten per cent. Thus, considering the difference in money, the total of this duty is carried as high as forty-five and fifty per cent.

Two posterior alterations in the regulation have still more favoured the contraband trade:

1st. A new tariff, published in 1782, laid a duty on foreign goods on their entering into Spain, and she is obliged to take from foreigners, for her colonies, linens, the greatest part of the cloths, thread, many silk-stuffs, all the mercery and haberdashery, crystals, all sorts of coarse woollens; in short, more than two-thirds of the consumption of her colonies; all of them articles which, besides the duties they pay on entering America, depart from Europe charged with fourteen, twenty, and twenty-five per cent., according to the value set upon them at their admission into Spain.

2d. The alteration of the money has influenced the exchange, which always regulates itself by the intrinsic value of coin.

Besides, do not the colonists prefer giving their ingots to foreigners in exchange for their goods, to carrying them to the mint, which has a profit on all metals she receives, whether gold or silver? Why should not the duty of four per cent. on all money exported from Spain be an inducement to fraudulent commerce, which escapes the payment of it?

Another circumstance favours what we have advanced. It is the facility granted to Louisiana to trade with foreigners *. This colony receives directly from Europe many more articles than she consumes. It may easily be guessed how she disposes of the overplus.

Finally, the inhabitants of the Spanish islands having the liberty of trading with the American continent, profit from the vicinity of the foreign islands to receive from them many sorts of goods which they introduce into the Spanish colonies.

It might be objected to the censurers of the free trade, that most of these circumstances existed before its establishment; that it has the advantage over the old institution, of having diminished the duty on many goods; that it has in many instances lightened the fetters of the Spanish and American trade: it must, therefore, appear astonishing, and even inexplicable, that the contraband trade should have increased since the regulation of 1778. But they will undoubtedly reply, that as the points from which the expeditions may be fitted out are multiplied, as also the places for their reception, the means of eluding the obligations imposed on the legal trade are augmented in proportion.

Besides, they do not conclude from all their ac-

* This inconvenience at least has ceased since the cession of Louisiana to France, and her sale of it to the United States.

cusations that the free trade should be abolished, but only that it has been established in such a manner as to leave much temptation to smuggling, and that we ought not to be surprised at finding it augmented rather than diminished.

In fact, it is evident that the Spaniard, even when he buys his goods from the manufacturer, cannot get them into any of the Spanish ports but at an expense from which the foreigner is exempted in his own country. The freight and the insurance he pays are more by three or four per cent. than the English, Dutch, or French pay, which however, in truth, is nearly counterbalanced by the extra expenses on foreign smuggled goods before they come into the hands of the consumer. Thus then are the goods in the hands of the smuggler at about the same price as they are in the hands of the Spanish fair trader. The first must pay the freight to the American port, the expense of unloading, and run the hazard of confiscation. But the second must at least pay a duty of fourteen per cent. on importation into Spain, seven per cent. on exportation, and another seven per cent. on entering an American port; which makes in the whole near thirty per cent. for the king's duties only, whilst the smuggler has no more expenses than three or four per cent. freight. He can insure against all danger till the goods are safely introduced into New Spain, and the province of Guatimala, for four per cent. Therefore, there remains an advantage for

him of twenty-two per cent. over the Spanish fair trader; and this without reckoning the profit that the first has on his returns, which consist of the precious productions of the country, or of metals which he exports without paying any duty.

To put the Spanish trader on a par with the foreign smuggler, government should not charge more than six per cent. on all goods sent to New Spain. Without this, how can he sell on equal terms with the French, who, since the revolution, pay no duty on exports, and who will in future be moderately rated; with the Dutch, who pay no more than one per cent. on exportation; with the Danes, who have a free port at St Thomas's; with the English, many of whose productions go out free of duty, and who for the others pay two, four, or at most five per cent.?

For the Spanish islands and the neighbouring coasts the duties on goods ought to be still lower, in order to counterbalance the facility which their situation presents to smuggling.

To indemnify for this diminution of the finances, heavier duties might be laid on goods sent to Buenos Ayres, and still more on those for Peru; smuggling being much less easy for the first-mentioned of these colonies since the Portuguese settlement of St. Sacrament, opposite to Buenos Ayres, has been destroyed, and is still less so for Peru and Chili.

Spanish merchandise ought at most to be sub-

jected to no more duty than two per cent. This sacrifice might at first sight appear a little alarming to the royal revenues; for it seems that the truism of Swift, which he expresses in so severe a manner, that in the *arithmetic of the custom-house two and two do not make four*, is not yet known in Spain. But if, in consequence of this diminution, frightful on the first aspect, it should result that the goods now carried to the colonies in a contraband manner should henceforth take the legal road to get there, it would certainly follow that, in losing part of the customs, the country would accomplish on the other hand the annihilation of smuggling, the revival of its commerce, and even the preservation of its colonies, which are now much in danger from this clandestine and continual communication with foreign nations.

Let the Spanish government observe besides, that she provides for both the civil and military administration of the colonies; for the expenses of public works, religious institutions, and other less important concerns; that these expenditures are by no means covered by the exportation-tax of the Indians, nor even by the tax on mines; that commerce is the only advantage which Spain receives from her colonies; and if this should at last be ruined by the contraband trade, she would be obliged to abandon them for want of means to provide for the expenses attendant on their support. This would not perhaps be a very

great evil for her; but since her honour, ill or well understood, still prescribes to her to preserve them, let her avoid the rocks on which, sooner or later, this possession, more glittering than useful, must split.

If even there were means to prevent smuggling and yet preserve the present duties, still the system of alleviating the shackles must be adopted, because it would augment the consumption in Spanish America, and consequently benefit the mother country. Government knows that, in spite of her prohibitions, manufactures of coarse cloth have been established in the province of Quito; painted cloth, lace, hats, and other articles are also made in New Spain. Let the European goods reach there at a more moderate price, and these manufactories will fall to the ground of themselves. Their productions could not be disposed of even in the colonies, if the European goods got there less encumbered with duties. Let the colonies moreover have the full liberty of exporting their raw materials, and they will lose nothing by this change in the objects of their industry. Agriculture is sufficient to employ them, and to procure for them every convenience of life. With the overplus of the various and precious productions of their soil, the mother country might purchase the productions of the soil and the industry of the rest of Europe. Hence would result a commercial intercourse advantageous to both

worlds, which would strengthen the bonds of amity between the mother country and her colonies, and procure to the latter such happiness as nature seems to have intended for them. She has given them immense forests, extensive and fertile plains, and a middling population. Manufactures cannot prosper in such countries. Any thing which prevents the inhabitants from breaking up their untilled ground, and adopting every kind of cultivation suited to their soil, produces the dreadful inconvenience of shutting them up in towns, and consigning their fields to desolation.

Whatever may be the case with all these assertions, the Spanish colonies have incontestably improved since the establishment of the free trade. It even appears that from the year 1788, the time when the complaints on the increase of smuggling, which we have related, were made, the inconvenience has much lessened. The returns of 1791 were cited to me as a proof of it. In this year no less than twenty-two millions of hard piastres arrived in Spain, as well from Peru as Mexico. And it is well known that Mexico in later times furnished, one year with another, from twenty to twenty-two millions of piastres, and Peru five or six. Total *twenty-six to twenty-eight millions* *. If from

* The following are some details, drawn from very good sources, of the produce of the American mines anterior to the revolutionary war, which has considerably weakened the connexion between Spain and her colonies.

this total you deduct some millions for the specie necessary for the circulation of the country, it will

In 1790 there were struck at the mint in Mexico, of hard piastres in gold	622,044
In silver	17,435,644
TOTAL	18,057,688
In 1789 there were coined at Lima	765,762 piast.
Gold and silver	3,570,000
TOTAL	4,335,762
And in 1790, gold as well as silver	5,162,240
The same year the mines of Potosi produced 2,204 marks of gold, making 299,249 piastres; and 462,609 marks of silver, with which were coined 3,923,173, which altogether make	4,222,422
Besides, there were coined at Santiago, in Chili, 721,754 piastres of gold, and 146,132 of silver; together	867,886

Summary of the year 1790:

Mexico	18,057,688
Lima	5,162,240
Potosi	4,222,422
Chili	867,886
TOTAL	28,310,236

The general statement of the produce of the Spanish American mines was, therefore, in 1790, 28,310,236 piastres; of which there were only 4,020,000 in gold, without reckoning those that have been discovered this year in the vice-royalty of Santa Fe.

be seen that very little remains for fraudulent exportation. It cannot, moreover, be doubted, that

In the same year the vice-royalty of Buenos-Ayres counted 30 gold mines, 27 of silver, 7 of copper, 2 of tin, and 7 of lead; but their product is not known.

(*Note of the third edition.*)

Second note of the fourth edition.

We have now, in 1805, several additions and modifications to make to the foregoing note. We owe them in a great measure to the politeness of the most interesting of modern travellers, to a gentleman not less estimable for his morals than for the variety of his knowledge, and for his enlightened and indefatigable zeal, I mean M. de Humboldt.

At the time when Spain began to work her mines, and a great while after, she obtained no more than two or three millions of piastres per annum: at present the annual produce may be valued, as well in gold as silver, at thirty-five millions of hard piastres: of these,

Mexico alone gives ..... twenty-two
Peru ..... six
New Grenada or Santa Fe ..... two
Chili ..... two
Vice-royalty of Buenos-Ayres or Rio de la Plata, containing the famous Potosi, ... three

The principal mines of America, then, are those of New Spain, or Mexico: the richest of all is *Guanaxoata*, the name of a city containing 70,000 inhabitants, and which alone produces from 5 to 6 millions of piastres. Then come those of *Zacatecas*, *Catorze*, and *Real del Monte*, the nearest to Mexico, capital of the vice-royalty.

The produce of all these mines of gold and silver has in-

since 1778 there have been exported from Spain for America, more wine, fruit, and manufactured goods than formerly; that many produc-

creased in a prodigious degree during the course of the last century.

In 1700 the produce on an average was ..... 5,000,000 hard piastres.
In 1750 10,000,000
In 1785 19,000,000
In 1796 25,000,000
And now it is 35,000,000

It has been calculated that since the conquest till 1804 the mint at Mexico alone has coined no less than.. 1,920,000,000

What the proportion of gold and silver of this total produce is, will appear from the following.

Mexico, properly speaking, has no gold mines. There is only to the north of this vice-royalty a new colony settled, called *Sonora*, which produces, not in gold from the mines, but in gold dust, to the yearly amount of ....700,000 hard piastres.

The mines of Popayan in New Grenada, under which name are comprehended those of *Choco*, *Guamoca*, and *Quilichao*, amount to 1,900,000
The mines of Chili produce 2,000,000
Those of Peru (which is hardly credible, judging from their reputation).. 500,000

Total of the produce in gold.. 5,100,000

Therefore more than 30 millions remain for that of the silver mines.

In comparing the two preceding notes, the results of which are not essentially different, we think a precise notion may be formed of the actual produce of all the mines in Spanish America.

tions hitherto unknown come from the Spanish colonies; that those which used to come only in small quantities are now much multiplied, such as tobacco, sugar, coffee; that the culture of sugar in Cuba has been greatly improved, although still far below the prosperity to which it may rise; and lastly, the communication between the mother country and the colonies is become much more frequent: which we may see from this one circumstance. Before the year 1778 the fleet and galleons sailed every three years. Consequently a merchant found not only great difficulty, but was put to great expense, that his ship might be one in the expedition, which admitted of no more than from twelve to fifteen. In the course of 1791 no less than NINETY-NINE sailed from Spain to the colonies.

The question, then, about the advantages of a free trade is most satisfactory decided.

At first the minister for the Indies thought proper not to extend it to Mexico, which remained eight years subjected to the old way of periodical supply. When he thought himself sufficiently furnished with proofs that he had nothing to fear from a free trade with this vast colony, with which he was better acquainted than any other, he suffered her to participate in 1786 in the advantages of the regulations of 1778, limiting the quantity of goods to be sent there every year to six thousand tons; a ridiculous restriction, which

is one of the numerous proofs of the taste of Galvez for the regulating system.

I have closely observed this ambitious minister. He was extremely laborious, very intelligent, and personally disinterested. He had also some claim to talents for administration. But to these he joined the most repulsive manners and the imperiousness of a vizir. He certainly had the power without incurring the danger attached to that title. Charles III placed an entire confidence in him. This monarch, though truly virtuous, was not exempt from singularities. He looked upon himself as a great soldier, and consequently determined every thing that related to the army and the plans of a campaign. But with respect to other departments, including that of his conscience, he left them blindly to the management of those who were charged with them; and none of his ministers, with an appearance of deference to *superior* intellect in the sovereign, has profited more by this modest cession than Galvez. Marshal *Duras* had known him during his embassy in Spain, and had appointed him solicitor for the French nation, which at Madrid is not an idle appointment, although it has lately been suppressed. This brought him in continual connexion with the French and with their ambassador. We do not perhaps gain by closer acquaintance. Certain however it is, that these multiplied communications with the French nation have not prevented him from conceiving

for her an aversion, which he but awkwardly disguised under protestations of friendship. M. d'Ossun had deserted him. He had advantageously introduced him to the marquis de Grimaldi, who in the year 1763 was appointed minister for foreign affairs, and even to Charles III, whom he had followed from Naples to Madrid. He contributed much to the appointment of Galvez to an important commission in Mexico, where he displayed his domineering and enterprising character, and where the intoxication of power, joined to the fatigue of an extremely active employment, brought on him an illness that was accompanied and followed by several acts of insanity. On his return to Spain his labours were rewarded, and he was avenged for all the charges that had preceded him to Europe by the appointment of minister for the Indies; i. e. by the greatest and most unlimited power that a man, who is not a sovereign, can exercise on the globe. In this place he preserved for M. d'Ossun all the outward marks of gratitude, and for the French nation the language of affection. But he had a rooted jealousy and hatred towards her, of which he has given more than one proof. His despotic temper was irritated by the slightest contradiction. His administration seemed to be the ark of the covenant, which might not be touched with impunity. Every one rash enough to reveal or even to discover the springs of it was odious to him. It was with the greatest reluctance that he forgave Robertson.

his work on America. He constantly retarded the translation of it, under pretence that it should not appear unaccompanied by a supplement, in which he (Galvez) would reestablish the truth, from which the English author, otherwise very correct, had too often deviated. He died before he had finished this work, perhaps before he had seriously thought of it. But whenever Raynal's *Histoire philosophique* was mentioned in his presence, he flew into the most violent passion; and I have heard him utter the most horrid imprecations against some Frenchmen who had abused the temporary permission of residing on the coast of Cumana, for the purpose of introducing there some sets of *that infernal work*.

Galvez displayed the same imperious and violent character in all the branches of his vast administration. But it is still a question with enlightened Spaniards, whether he has done more good than evil to the colonies; although great activity and even a strong wish to act for the best cannot be denied him. It is at least certain that although against his inclination, he developed their disposition to independence; and being too eager to prove that an able minister could render them useful to the revenues of the mother country, to which they had for a long time been only a burden, he provoked by an augmentation of taxes, and by the bad choice of his agents, an insurrection which broke out in 1781 in the vice-royalty of Santa Fe. The same causes produced soon after one still more

serious in Peru; and it was only by sanguinary means, and by the punishment of its intrepid leader Tupacamaro, that that insurrection was quelled. And at what time did he choose to sour the minds of the Spanish colonies? The same in which the English colonies shook off the yoke of Great Britain, for grievances perhaps not so heavy. To establish and to collect the new taxes which he had planned, he employed sixteen thousand people, who by their salaries and malversation absorbed the wholé produce. In the mean while he boasted with effrontery that he had raised the revenues of the Spanish colonies from five to eighteen millions of piastres, whilst towards the end of his administration government was obliged to send assistance in money (*situados*) to the Philippine islands, to Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, Louisiana, and even sometimes to the Havannah.

It must however be allowed that he laboured with success for the revival of the Spanish colonies; that Trinidad, Louisiana, the Philippines, and particularly Mexico, owe to him the beginning of their prosperity.—We shall give a rapid view of what he did for these colonies, or at least show the advantageous change during his ministry.

CHAPTER VIII.

Measures taken with respect to Louisiana. Of the cession of Saint Domingo to France. Recent prosperity of Trinidad. Treaty of the negroes with Spain.

AS soon as Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain*, who had subdued it by the most odious means, the recollection of which will long remain amongst the unfortunate colonists, the court of Madrid thought of adopting some favourable measures to make them forget the yoke.

Since 1768, she exempted from all export duties the goods which that colony received from Spain, and also those she could export, and subjected these to a duty of only four per cent. on their entry into Spain; but as they were chiefly tobacco, indigo, cotton, and particularly furs, and did not find a great sale in the mother country, it was settled that French vessels might come to load

* The retrocession of Louisiana by Spain to France, and the sale which France soon after made of it to the United States, will create a new aspect for this important colony; but a view of what she was before this change of dominion may still be interesting, and we thought we ought not to suppress it.

(*Note to the edition of* 1805.)

with them at New Orleans, provided they arrived in ballast. This restriction was so often eluded, that the Spanish government felt the necessity of discontinuing it. At the same time it was observed that the furs of the northern part of Louisiana could only be exchanged for French merchandise.

The regulation of 1778 added to the privileges of Louisiana the total exemption of duties on their furs during ten years. In 1782, Pensacola and West Florida having been added to the possessions of Spain in the Gulf of Mexico, it was established that for ten years importations from French ports should be permitted, as also the return of the produce of these two colonies; and that the articles both of import and export should pay no more than six per cent. duty; that even in case of necessity their inhabitants might go to the French West India islands for provisions; that the negroes they could procure from islands in amity should pay no duty of entry. The regulation expressly stipulated that all the foreign goods imported into Louisiana should be consumed there. This restriction has also certainly been evaded; for there have since been so many expeditions made to New Orleans, that the speculators must have been ruined if there was no other marts for disposing of their cargoes than Louisiana.

It was immediately discovered that the regulation of 1782 required some extensions. It should

confine Louisiana, with respect to her trade, to France alone. If we could have provided her with all she wanted, we might have engrossed the produce of the investments made fraudulently by the way of Florida and the north of the Missisippi; and we should at the same time have procured at a low price the indigo, the furs, castor skins, and the other productions of Louisiana. But these people likewise consumed some foreign articles, such as Silesian linens, English checks, tin plates, &c. To engross the whole profit of this new order of things our government should have granted the free transit of these goods, which should then have been embarked in our ports directly for Louisiana. The Spanish minister had intrusted M. Maxent, father-in-law to general Galvez, with the negotiation, of whom the minister of that name had great reason to be proud as a nephew, for the brilliant talents he displayed in the American war. He had prepared for the prosperity of Louisiana by the mildness and wisdom of his administration; and he was afterwards promoted to the vice-royalty of Mexico, but taken away by a premature death from his interesting family and from his country. Our government, blinded by financial views, did not accept the propositions of M. Maxent; and the court of Madrid was obliged to extend the privilege which was before exclusively ours, to several other foreign ports, such as Amsterdam, Ostend, Genoa, &c.

This circumstance, however, did not prevent us from having engrossed almost the whole commerce of Louisiana until the time of the rupture. We even maintained two commissaries in that colony, who watched over the interest of our merchants.

We are told that since the peace its retrocession has been agitated*; that even Spain, who it was thought must object to it, was very much disposed to consent to it; and that the obstacles have arisen on the side of our government, which insisted on the strict execution of the treaty of Bâle. Could it believe that this distant possession in the interior of the Gulf of Mexico, which had formerly cost us so much to provide for in our maritime wars, should have occasioned us nothing but inconvenience? that, our former relations being restored, it could be as useful to us as when it was our own? that in our hands it would have become a source of quarrels between us and our allies, to whom the contraband trade which she would facilitate, is, and will long be, an object of terror? Could it have thought that this acquisition would be incompatible with the good understanding which without doubt we wish to maintain with an enterprising people, with whom it would have been perhaps difficult to be at the same time the ally and the neighbour? Finally, the Lou-

* This was written in 1802.

sianians, who have a long time regretted our dominion, but who have been several years happy under the Spaniards; and who moreover are no longer, as in 1769, a colony of brothers to us, but a kind of people composed of several European nations and attached to their country;—I say, these inhabitants of Louisiana would not perhaps have willingly exchanged their actual situation for the honour of making a part of the French republic. Devoted exclusively to commerce and industry, they have probably more need of tranquillity than of glory.

Louisiana, however, differs very little from what she was when ceded to Spain. Her principal station New Orleans, contained then five or six thousand inhabitants. In 1793 it had not more than eight thousand without counting the negroes, which amounted in all the colony to twenty-five thousand; and the whole of the white population might be estimated at twenty thousand. The great majority are still French. Besides those in the civil and military employments, who are Spaniards, there are few of that nation. The free Americans have established settlements amongst the Natchez, where they have successfully introduced the English mode of culture. Lastly, there are on the right bank of the Missisippi some Germans, who, after the Americans, are the best husbandmen in the colony.

This excepted, the cultivation of Louisiana is very confined; and it is only tobacco and indigo that

have arrived at any perfection. She however has a tolerable exportation; before the rupture with France it might be estimated at 8,400,000 livres per annum. But with the exception of that part of the trade which some greedy governors appropriate to themselves the profit, we are told, goes entirely to foreign merchants, who establish themselves at New Orleans merely to make their fortunes, and who return afterwards to their own country. This is a vexatious circumstance; for it deprives the colony of a capital without which she can undertake nothing, and hinders her from taking advantage of the treasures nature has given her.

These are so striking and so multifarious, that, when known, we are tempted to excuse our forefathers, who were led astray by the deceiving illusions with which the name of Missisippi was surrounded. Take the following sketch.

Louisiana is under one of the finest climates of the earth. She is watered in her greatest extent by a river which adds to the fertility of her soil, and whose vast outlet is favourable to the exportation of her produce.

At the head of these productions should be reckoned *tobacco*, which is much superior to that of Virginia or Maryland. There are exported annually on account of the king of Spain about three millions of pounds, which at ten sous the pound make a sum of a million and a half of livres.

This excellent tobacco the king of Spain might get at half the price, if he would permit the colony of Kentucky to enter into competition with that of Louisiana.

The *indigo* of Louisiana is as good as that of St. Domingo, and consequently much superior to that of Carolina. Before the Spanish war with France, a great quantity was already sent into that country; the annual produce was estimated at five hundred thousand pounds weight, which at 6 livres 10 sous the pound make this article of exportation amount to 3,250,000 livres.

Furs have been for some years the principal object of commerce in Louisiana. From 1765 to 1778, it is calculated that there were annually exported to the amount of about four millions of livres: but this trade is diminished one half from the cause before assigned; for no sooner have the merchants enriched themselves than they disappear, taking with them a capital which is absolutely necessary for the fur trade. The savages with whom it is most profitably carried on are the Missouris, who bring the produce of their hunting to St. Louis, a settlement almost entirely French, and well known in the surrounding country. If Louisiana had more ports, she might derive great profit from the tar and pitch of an excellent quality which the inhabitants collect, particularly in those parts which lie between New Orleans and Mobile.

She has also a great abundance of timber: what is annually exported in masts, planks, &c. is estimated at 800,000 livres. Many small vessels also, and even ships of four hundred tons burden, are built and sold at New Orleans, which are valued as much for strength as cheapness. Their cedars are of the best quality; white, green, and red oaks are abundant, and very tall, large, and close-grained: lastly, the cypress makes very good masts, which form also an article for exportation. Another more considerable is that of planks, pipe-staves, &c. which are sent in great quantities to the Antilles. They construct, one year with another, more than a hundred thousand sugar-casks for the consumption of the Havannah; and they have about fifty two-saw-mills, which are put in motion by the rising of the tide.

Innumerable herds of cattle furnish them meat in abundance, and hides and tallow are become articles of exportation. In fine, if they had opportunities they might export *horses*, *wax*, *wool*, *hemp*, and even *silk*, all of the best quality; not to mention rice, peas, maize, &c. inferior objects of exportation, but which, joined to naval stores, would produce annually about 400 thousand livres. The culture of cotton, which prospered at the time of the cession, appears to have been abandoned since.

The greatest part of this unsettled trade was

carried on before the rupture by French adventurers established in Louisiana, who annually sent to France five or six vessels with indigo, furs, and piastres, also about sixty small craft to St. Domingo, and some to Martinique and Guadaloupe, laden with wood, rice, pulse, pitch and tar, tobacco, and particularly piastres; and these returned with all sorts of European goods, and with negroes.

It is at first sight an inexplicable phænomenon, that a colony so well endowed by nature; a colony on whose account alone the mother country has degraded herself for these thirty years past; a colony which has had the use of these advantages to extend her connexions to a distance, should have made so little progress. It is not a sufficient reason for this strange result, to say that the merchants established in Louisiana, as soon as they have enriched themselves, withdraw, in order to escape the avidity of the governors; and that therefore this colony is deprived of the funds indispensable to an extensive cultivation and to the trade in furs. What! Have all the Spanish governors since 1769 been of so rapacious a disposition, that nothing could escape them but by a precipitate flight? I could produce some proofs to the contrary. What! Are there no Europeans or colonists at all, who, attracted by the beauty of the climate, and by the resources of all kinds which this country presents, would determine on a permanent residence here, in spite of the pre-

tended avidity of the governors!..... And so even the colonists that remained after the cession have not been able to enrich themselves, and acquire such capitals as are indispensable to the prosperity of the colony! How comes it, that a virgin soil, which invites all kinds of culture; a country that produces an infinite variety of trees, some of them as old as the continent; that a country watered all over by one of the finest rivers in the world, whose winding bays interspersed with rocks, put this colony in perfect safety against invasion; I say, How happens it, that a country possessed of all these advantages should not be generally attractive? No doubt some radical vice tarnishes or poisons the source of all this prosperity. Has not the Spanish government the same attraction at a distance which many foreigners find in it in Europe? Or are people repulsed from Louisiana by the traces still fresh of the horrors she experienced in 1769? Or has she not been pardoned for having lent her name to the dazzling chimæras which have been the disgrace of France, and the ruin of a great number of families?

Perhaps it is reserved to liberty to revivify Louisiana at last: not to that precarious liberty which depends on the prejudices of a sovereign or the caprices of a minister; and still less to that liberty which is an offspring of the Furies, and which knows only to destroy; but to that true liberty,

the daughter of reason and experience, which knows how to create and to preserve, and which is now in full activity among the Americans. These seem to be destined to compel Louisiana at last to fulfil the intentions of Nature. Already settled on the borders of the great river which traverses that country, and on smaller rivers received by it, they solicited with a menacing impatience an opening for the abundant produce of their rich cultivation, which the Mississippi, on account of systematic regulations, refused to convey to the ocean. The nature of things must have procured this opportunity sooner or later. They obtained it at last in 1795, through the condescension, though rather dilatory, of the Spaniards.

This measure, desisive of the prosperity of the Americans in the west, must likewise have great influence on that of Louisiana. New Orleans must become an *entrepôt* for their export trade, for the goods she takes in return, and will thus acquire a permanent attraction for speculators. The example of this activity cannot fail to revive all the colony. Spain must also reap advantages from an arrangement the United States have so long solicited. Even the English government applauds it. The Mississippi, say these interpreters, comes from the north-west, whilst the Ohio arrives there from the north-east. Both rivers traverse the most fertile countries in the world, countries which produce a great deal of

wood fit for building houses and constructing mills, such as *oak*, *fir*, *elm*, *walnut*, &c. These woods, moreover, falling down the rivers to their mouths, will find a good market in the British West Indies. These islands would also receive by the same channel, as far as from Pittsburgh, (or Fort Pitt, which is in the same latitude with New York,) corn and iron, which could not be conveyed to them but at a much dearer rate from New York and Philadelphia. In a word, the opening of the Missisippi, by procuring a great supply of corn for the West India islands, will relieve the English from the care of supplying them, and much extend the commerce in the productions of their own industry. Should experience justify the pleasing conjecture of the British ministry, we may say, that the treaty with which the Prince of Peace and Mr. Pinckney terminated, in 1795, a very complex negotiation, that had lasted thirteen years, had this singularity, perhaps unique in the annals of diplomacy, that it was directed against nobody, and had procured advantages for all the world.

About that time France demanded from Spain the cession of Louisiana; but the treaty of Bâle was concluded without any mention being made of it; the cession did not take place till some years after. France, as is well known, did not remain long in possession of Louisiana, but sold it in 1803 to the United States; and from that time

a new epoch has commenced in that important colony.

By the treaty of Bâle, which we have just noticed, France was satisfied with receiving from Spain her portion of the island of St. Domingo. That power, in ceding it to us, has made no very painful sacrifices; it was to her of more detriment than advantage. It is known that from the beginning of the last century till 1784 it cost her seventeen millions of hard piastres, and of late years two hundred thousand piastres annually*.

Although she possessed a surface double that of ours, her population at that time amounted not to a hundred thousand souls, in which were included scarcely three thousand negroes for the culture of the soil †. She had scarcely a cultivated spot but what was made so by our run-away negroes. This colony in our hands, and after the return of perfect peace in the West Indies, would be to us of more consequence than all the others together. She has all the valuable productions of the West Indies. She can produce as much tobacco and sugar as Cuba; as much coffee and cotton as our old colony of St. Domingo furnished till

* Moreau de Saint-Méry estimates the annual expense at 1,700,000 livres; whilst 200,000 piastres make hardly one million of livres. But I have reason to believe that my statement is the true one.

† Ten years after, according to Saint-Méry, she contained 100,000 free people, and 15,000 slaves.

lately; better cocoa than even the Caraccas: but all these productions, though indigenous for the most part, are still in this colony in only a small quantity,—after having grown there so abundantly in the sixteenth century, that the cocoa of St. Domingo, for example, sufficed for the consumption of all Spain. There are also two districts very proper for the feed of sheep, and several for horned cattle. The soil is watered in every direction, and extremely variable on its surface. Finally, four of her ports, namely *Saint Domingo*, *Samana*, *Port de Plata*, and *Monte Christi*, would be capable of exporting all her productions.

From this sketch * it will appear, that the new colony we have obtained by the treaty of Bâle is singularly favoured by nature, but that there is still much to be done by art. The advantage to be reaped from it is therefore yet at a distance.

This is all that can be allowed to the declaimers against this acquisition; amongst whom it must be allowed there are some reasoners, who, like

* I thought it advisable to confine myself to this sketch, because there appeared a few years ago at Philadelphia *A Description of the Spanish Part of St. Domingo*, by Morean de Saint-Méry, which leaves nothing to wish for in regard to that colony; and to give an interesting detail of it, I should be obliged to copy that work, which is equally estimable for its correctness as its sagacity. I am therefore obliged to give here only the general result of what I have been able to learn from good authority, without having been on the spot.

M. Moreau de Saint-Méry in particular, are armed with specious arguments and incontestable facts. We must grant that the French part of St. Domingo from being incorporated with the Spanish part will not derive any great means of defence, nor perhaps great safety for its navigation in time of war; but we cannot agree with them, that the means of subsistence of the old French colony will be thereby diminished. What has happened in this respect, during a century, between the French and Spanish colonists, proves that the supply of the French part with cattle, which are only to be found in the districts possessed by Spain, would have been always precarious, as long as it remained dependent on foreign governors and administrators, connected with whom ours would only have had to expect provisional and imperfect treaties, of which nothing could guaranty the faithful observance, whereas it may be possible to make strict and permanent regulations, which shall at least place our old colony out of the reach of such inconveniencies.

It is in vain that the opposers of the cession of the Spanish part of the colony pretend, that Africa must be exhausted to procure the million of negroes requisite to put her in a state of perfection; that a still greater difficulty would occur in finding the capital necessary for the cultivation of such immense tracts of land, particularly after the horrible commotion which leaves so many disasters

to repair in the old French colony. To this it may be answered, that nothing can oblige the French government to make use of this vast acquisition all at once; that it also appears, the means they indicate, are not the only ones that may be employed for the benefit of the colony: that there are other means of improving a soil which, they agree, offers such great resources: that even whilst the government is occupied in the revival of the colony on a large scale, nothing can prevent the beginning to people it and break it up, by inviting such French families as were almost ruined by the revolution; in short, men from every country, who, to meliorate their circumstances, will always be willing to emigrate. These new colonists, attracted by the beauty of the climate, by the advantages which an incorporation with France holds out to them, by the cheapness with which they may acquire virgin land, would thus clear the way for the prosperity of the country, without its being necessary to *depeople Africa*, or to drain the national treasury.

Moreover, this great question of the acquisition of the Spanish part of St. Domingo has been discussed by both parties in terms of exaggeration, which disfigures with the intention of embellishing, and of which the event never justifies the predictions. On one side it has been said, that this acquisition will ruin the French colony; the Spanish colonists will retire; the pastures where

they feed their cattle, which the French cannot do without, will be abandoned, or appropriated to agriculture; and the colony will gradually perish in the midst of her plantations of sugar and coffee. Besides, How can a single power guard such a vast extent of coast? What a depopulation of the mother country, which is so much in want of hands! What a false direction given to the capitals, for which she herself has such pressing means of employment!

Those, on the contrary, who amuse themselves with embellishing the future, see the whole colony of St. Domingo attain a degree of prosperity in the space of ten years, of which there never was an example; augmenting the annual returns of our commerce with a hundred and fifty millions, and supplying alone the rest of the universe with colonial productions. Ye patriots, who are so easyt o be alarmed, moderate your grief. Ye politicians, who are of opinion that every thing is for the best, renounce your fine dreams. Nothing of what you predict will come to pass. You have seen some expected matches, the partners in which, possessing amiable qualities, an apparent agreeableness, and a mutual affection, inspire a tender interest. On the approach of their union, we exclaim with emotion, What a decisive epoch of their lives! They are going to seal either their *happiness* or *their misery*. We are deceived. They are deceived. They will live together thirty years with-

out having done the one or the other. It will be the same with the acquisition of St. Domingo, and with many more similar connexions, from which you promised yourself great matters, or expected heavy disasters.*

I shall proceed to the other Spanish colonies that owe at least the commencement of their regeneration to the ministry of Galvez.

Trinidad had been for a long time one of those from which Spain derived the least advantage: and yet her situation at the entry of the Gulf of Mexico and near Terra Firma, her salubrity of

* This was our language in 1797. Since that time, the question then agitated is left undecided. The executive directory, without being in haste to organize the government of the new colony, sent to St. Domingo a commissary worthy of confidence, and invested with extensive power. It was the same Roume de Saint-Laurent, of whom we shall say more under the article *Trinidad*. It is well known how circumstances counteracted his zeal: he could not overcome the ascendency which Toussaint Louverture began already to display. Sent out of the colony by the mandate of this imperious chief, Roume took refuge in the United States. He was still at Philadelphia in the year 10 (January 1802); and whilst waiting the decision of his fate and that of Saint Domingo, he employed himself in the study of the sciences, perhaps more suitable to him than politics. A new prospect, of most happy omen, has recently presented itself for the whole colony.

(*Note to the edition of* 1803.)

Events more recent than those which we have related will postpone any speculations concerning the Spanish part of St. Domingo to future times.

(*Note to the edition of* 1805.)

climate, the fertility of her soil, which culture had scarcely touched, the excellence of some of her harbours, might long since have made it a most valuable possession. Galvez, to give life to this paralysed member of the Spanish monarchy, even in the first year of his ministry placed Trinidad under the jurisdiction of the company of the Caraccas. Two years after she was included in the regulation for free trade; and the following year the intendant of the province of the Caraccas, M. d'Avalos, consulted and encouraged by the minister, undertook to people and to cultivate it. He was powerfully assisted by a Frenchman, M. de Saint-Laurent, (known since by the name of M. Roume*,) who, after having resided several years at Grenada, where he had conciliated universal esteem, was come to settle at Trinidad. He knew this island already perfectly well, had connexions in most part of the West Indies, and possessed in the highest degree the gift of inspiring confidence by the frankness of his manner, and his inflexible probity. It was he who was commissioned by M. d'Avalos to procure colonists for Trinidad. He proposed, in order to accomplish it, a regulation, which, without waiting for the approbation of his court, M. d'Avalos caused to be published in the beginning of 1780. Its effect was immediate. In June 1782 there were calcu-

* The person mentioned in the preceding note.

lated to be in Trinidad a hundred and seventy-four families of new colonists, who had brought with them 1085 slaves, and had a great number of plantations as well of sugar as of coffee and cocoa.

However, most of the emigrants on whom M. d'Avalos had counted, waited the formal avowal by the court of Madrid of the privileges they had been promised, before they would come and settle there. Saint-Laurent wrote to Europe in 1783 to forward it. He was not satisfied with his reception by the jealous minister, who wished that every thing should be done by himself, and pardoned with difficulty any improvements not made by his influence. Saint-Laurent demanded for the emigrants, who depended upon his promises, some exemptions incompatible with the laws of the Indies; and the council, the depositary of these laws, opposed him with the antiquated rigidity of their principles. Saint-Laurent had personal pretensions to the gratitude of Spain; and he advanced his claim with the dignified firmness of a man who knows not how to demand justice in the same tone that he asks a favour. In short, the fate of Trinidad was decided without his concurrence.

In November 1783 appeared an edict, the effect of which seconded but feebly the progress of this colony to prosperity. It allowed to the new colonists only some of the privileges which

M. Saint-Laurent had considered to be necessary. It permitted them a free trade with France and her West India islands, but obliged them to carry it on in Spanish bottoms. It authorised the importation of negroes necessary for the colony, but not without restrictions. It stipulated only that Trinidad should be considered a mart for those which foreign nations should carry there.

It is well known that Spain for a long time has not been able to do without them for supplying her colonies with negroes. Since the peace of Utrecht, England had been, by the famous treaty of *Assiento*, in possession of this supply; but when the term expired, Spain replaced this very chargeable interposition of the English by a company whose *entrepôt* was established at Porto-Rico. The charter of this company expiring in 1780, Spain attempted to furnish the negroes herself. It was with this view that she obtained by the treaty with Portugal, in 1778, two small islands near the coast of Africa, Annobon and Fernando del Po. But, besides that these islands were ill situated for this commerce, Spain wanted capital, without which it could not be undertaken. She had neither vessels properly constructed for the purpose, nor goods fit for the market, no sailors used to these voyages, nor surgeons who knew how to treat the disorders of the negroes. Therefore she is, and must continue a long time, as to this object, at the mercy of strangers. It was

but very slowly, however, that she became convinced of this truth. She then applied to some individuals, who undertook to procure her a certain number of negroes in a given time. These partial measures being found insufficient, she determined, in 1789, to allow foreigners as well as Spaniards to bring negroes to her colonies of St. Domingo, Cuba, Porto-Rico, and the Caraccas. In February 1791 she confirmed this permission for two years, and extended it to the viceroyalty of Santa-Fe. Towards the end of the year appeared a royal edict, which permitted strangers as well as Spaniards, having purchased negroes wherever they could find them, to disembark them, for the term of six years, at any of the ports of the colonies before mentioned, and also at those of the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, with this restriction on foreigners, that their ships touching on the coasts of America should not load with any articles of commerce, even implements of agriculture not excepted, the introduction of which was retained by the Spaniards: for the respect which in modern times the court of Madrid unwillingly shows to freedom of commerce, is always fettered with restrictions and exceptions. The French experienced it particularly on this occasion. They were excluded by the edict from the liberty granted to other foreign nations; and it may easily be guessed why. Governments the most compunctious carry on without repugnance a traffic

the most revolting. The interest and prosperity of their country make it legal in their eyes; but they thought they could gain nothing by the introduction of our principles, which were repulsed in every possible way.

In the meanwhile we were offended at this exception, and our merchants solicited its revocation. I obtained it in May 1792, a time when the court of Spain, in acknowledging my character, seemed for a time to reconcile itself to our revolution. Our minister, however, was not of opinion that this liberty would be of any advantage to us; and pretended that, for the sake of a little money which we might gain by it, our own colonies would be deprived of negroes, as our adventurers would always find it more advantageous to carry them to the Spanish colonies. He was mistaken. The negroes selling dearer in our own than in the Spanish colonies, where their common price was two hundred and fifty piastres, of course ours would have the preference. The English must have profited the most by this liberty which Spain granted to foreigners. Their number of slaves, one year with another, amounted to forty or forty five thousand, consequently were more than they wanted themselves, whilst ours did not amount to twenty four thousand.

Besides, the war which soon followed, made this permission, which Spain had with so much

difficulty granted us, almost of no avail, and our legislators lost no time in proscribing the slave-trade for ever. The Spaniards have not been tempted to follow this example; but it must be allowed, as their apology, that if the slave-trade was tolerable in any part of the globe, it was in the Spanish dominions: and it is but justice to confess, that the nation more than any other accused of having stained the New World with its cruelties, is, with the Portuguese, that by which slaves are treated with the greatest mildness; as if, from pure humanity, they wished to expiate or recompense the crimes of their forefathers. But let us return to Trinidad.

The court of Madrid has lately taken so spirited a part in the welfare of this colony as cannot but be applauded. She has granted it a liberty of which there is perhaps no example on the globe. Before the American war the colony was almost deserted, and consequently uncultivated. Government has opened its ports to all foreigners without distinction. It has invited them to come and settle there with their capitals, their industry, and their negroes. It has exempted from duty whatever the Spaniards export, whether from this colony or from the neighbouring coast of Terra Firma, and has imposed only a very moderate one on goods shipped by foreigners for a port that is not Spanish. It has done still more; it has confided the government of Trinidad to a

man equally enlightened as benevolent; I mean *don Joachim Chacon* *.

This produced a prosperity equally rapid and brilliant. The soil of Trinidad is proper for all sorts of colonial productions. Cocoa, indigo, cotton, and coffee have been tried, but could not be preserved from the ravages of the grub and the fly, which swarmed there: the culture of those articles, therefore, was obliged to be abandoned. But the cultivation of sugar is there already in a most flourishing state Seventeen or eighteen years ago it would have been difficult to find twenty sugar-houses. In 1796 there were more than three hundred and sixty. From several West India islands, particularly from ours, the malcontents fled to Trinidad, with all the negroes that would follow them; and it is no exaggeration to say, that the colonists amount already to sixty

* The event has proved, or at least induced a belief, that his courage did not equal his wisdom. He commanded at the defence of Trinidad when the English, with very little trouble, made themselves masters of it in 1798. Soon after their governor of St. Vincent went to inform himself of the real state of this new conquest, and to ascertain whether the importance which its intrinsic value stamped upon it was not equalled by that which it derived from its geographical situation. The report which he made to the British ministry on his arrival in London so riveted their attention, that it was easy to foresee that the irrevocable possession of this valuable colony would make one of the *sine qua non* conditions of a future peace.

thousand—Spaniards (who are the least numerous), Americans from the United States, and particularly Frenchmen, emigrants as well as patriots. There, in one of the most delightful climates in the world, on a virgin soil which repays with usury their industry, they forget all disputes, and live in peace under a wise government, which disperses equally, and with an impartial hand, both happiness and protection. New comers receive, in advance, utensils, instruments of culture, and even a capital, but are strictly obliged to pay for them at the expiration of three years. If they take a capital with them, they buy such marked-out plantations as are to be sold; or else, in the name of the king, a grant is made to them of the lands that have not as yet been purchased, which they pay for when brought into a state of production. The privileges to which these new colonists owe their prosperity were in 1796 extended for eighteen years. A shorter period will exhibit* the

* Such was the situation of Trinidad when the English took it. Now that the peace of Amiens has made it their property, they will not fail to reap all the advantages it is capable of furnishing; one of the principal of which will be the possession of a colony situated so near the Spanish continent as to furnish it abundantly with the productions of their industry: but perhaps they will not neglect it on other accounts. Trinidad, on which Nature has lavished all kinds of riches, contains many treasures worthy the attention of naturalists. In order to make a beginning towards exploring them, our government, with the consent

island of Trinidad more flourishing than any other colony in the New World.

of the court of Madrid and a safe-conduct from England, in 1796, fitted out for that colony *la belle Angelique*, under command of captain Baudin, having on board several of our literati skilled in natural history, and particularly in botany. What circumstances permitted only to be planned will certainly be completed by the care of the British government, and the sciences, at least, will lose nothing by the change of dominion which this colony has experienced.

CHAPTER IX.

What the Spanish government had done for the Philippine Islands and for Mexico. Working the mines.

LOUISIANA and Trinidad are not the only colonies of which in later times the Spanish government has undertaken the regeneration. There is one at the extremity of Asia that appears to accuse the mother country of a backwardness in seconding the advances of Nature. I mean to speak of the Archipelago of the Philippines, which, including the islands of Mariana, comprehends a territory of greater extent than France, Spain, and Italy together. Not only all the necessaries of life abound there, but these islands produce also timber for building, woods for dyeing, iron and steel-mines, and rivers which extend very far up into the country. Cotton, indigo, tobacco, and sugar succeed there, and the vegetable kingdom displays an undescribable luxuriance. Sonnerat, in 1781, brought from thence nearly six thousand plants till then unknown in Europe. Gold is found in the sand of some of the rivers. The number of subjects who acknowledge the Spanish sovereignty amount to more than a million,

without reckoning the savages who live in the woods, whom it would be very difficult to count.

Persuaded that it was impossible to establish a direct and continual trade with a colony at such a distance, the kings of Spain had confined themselves to connecting it, by means of the port of Acapulco, with the western coast of Mexico. Every one knows the famous *Nao*, that annually makes the passage from the Manillas to Acapulco across the South Sea. It was scarcely by any other than this devious track that Spain had a communication with the Philippines; a communication unprofitable to her European subjects, and whose principal advantages were reaped by the Chinese, the Armenians, and the other nations that frequent the eastern seas. The revenue was not at all profited by it; on the contrary, the charges of administration absorbed more than the trifling receipts at the custom-house. The inhabitants of the Philippines, uncultivated and without industry, had no other revenue than the commission trade which their situation promoted. Like European Spain in its decline, the island of Luçon, which is the principal of the Philippines, was nothing but a channel by which the Mexican piastres passed to the Indian nations; insomuch that money was very scarce in these islands, although, since their conquest, this indirect commerce had brought there incalculable sums in silver.

Their defence was as much neglected as their interior improvement. It is well known with what ease they were taken in the war of 1756 by the same Draper who commanded at Minorca under general Murray when that island surrendered to the duc de Crillon. Spain profited by this lesson. Charles III fortified the port of Cavite, at the extremity of which is Manilla, the capital of the island of Luçon, and the seat of government; and in security awaited, during the American war, a fresh attack by the English in these latitudes.

At the same time the minister for the colonies employed himself in exciting the industry of these islanders, who, in spite of that apathy which the allurements of gain can alone resuscitate, have the greatest aptitude for manufactures, agriculture, navigation, and even ship-building. Cotton manufactories had been established at Manilla, and succeeded there: and more than once the question had been agitated during this century, of reviving this colony by means of a company.

In 1733 the minister Patinho proposed to establish one which should last twenty years, to which privileges were to be granted that appeared incompatible with the Spanish colonial laws. The opposition, however, did not come from the inflexible council of the Indies; but the court of Spain was obliged to give way to those maritime

powers, who maintained that this establishment was contrary to treaties; that Spain could not go to the Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1767 a minister of finance, Musquiz, otherwise very little enterprising, conceived a more bold project, that of establishing a mixt company, composed of Frenchmen and Spaniards, that should carry on trade to the Philippines in concert; a commerce from which we should have derived the most advantage from blending it with that of the East India company. The duc de Choiseul, who was very fond of all great plans, who moreover believed that his ascendancy over the marquis de Grimaldi rendered every thing possible to him, received this idea with enthusiasm; but it was not proceeded on.

It was revived in 1783, but under another form, and by three different persons. One was Mons. d'Estaing, who was willing to pay off the dignity he had just obtained by some marked proofs of zeal towards the Spanish nation. Soon after, the prince of Nassau-Siegen, who in his voyage round the world had imbibed some elevated ideas, proposed to revive the Philippines by inviting colonists from Europe, by opening one of its ports to the Chinese, who want nothing but a resting-place in these latitudes; by establishing a force sufficient to keep in awe the Mahometan pirates, known by the name of *Mores*, who infest the coast of the

Philippines, and which Spain could not extirpate, although she sacrificed two hundred thousand piastres annually in a war with them. He also offered to preside at this establishment himself. His proposal, however, was coolly received; and it was reserved for M. Cabarrus to succeed where so many before had failed.

Galvez, whose restless jealousy had imperceptibly accustomed itself to behold a young Frenchman contributing to the regeneration of his country, much wished to concert with him that of the Philippines. They took advantage of the inclination of the Spaniards towards useful enterprises, to forward the adoption of the project of a direct trade from Spain with these islands.

Circumstances were propitious. After several fluctuations, credit and confidence seemed to be consolidated: the Spaniards began to get acquainted with speculations of risk. The moneyed men, grown less timid, employed at last their capitals in a trade which distrust and habit had hitherto proscribed. The company of the Caracas was dissolved, and its share-holders, ready to recover their capitals, must needs wish for a convenient mart. This was the time to attempt the establishment of a new company, which, formed under the most happy auspices, should revive both enterprise and avarice. The plan was discussed and determined on in July 1784, by a

junta composed of different members of administration, at the head of which was the minister for the Indies. It was proposed to constitute, for trading to the Philippines, a fund of eight millions of hard piastres, divided into 32,000 shares of 250 piastres each: and it was represented that Spain would have great advantages over other European nations, in carrying from America directly to Manilla the piastres, which other nations could convey thither only by a circuitous route. It was endeavoured to be proved, that Spain, being thus enabled to procure the East India goods, of which Europe is so desirous, at their very source, would buy them much cheaper, supply her colonies and her European subjects with them, and open a mart for her merchandise with other nations.

The plan was approved by the *junta*, and afterwards by the king, who, as well as his family, purchased shares in the funds of the new company. Twenty-one millions of reals, as we have said, were raised on the profits of the bank; and to prevent the ardour which had been excited from cooling by delay, directors, and others to be employed in the new establishment, were immediately chosen; and the edict of its foundation was registered and published. It was resolved, that the vessels employed in this trade should sail from Cadiz, double Cape Horn, touch on the coasts of Peru, to take in the piastres required for their

purchases, then proceed to the Philippines across the South Sea, and bring back their returns direct to Cadiz by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

There was one circumstance which seconded this zeal, this precipitation, which seemed to form a strong contrast with Spanish inactivity, and in which a mixture of French spirit was discoverable. The *gremios*, a company of whom we have already spoken several times, which extends its speculations every where, and obtains from the minister all favours, all privileges, all commissions, but which may be reproached, especially in later times, with being more engaged in making the fortune of its managers than in watching over the safety of the capitals intrusted to it; these *gremios*, I say, had already attempted some expeditions to the Philippines; and, notwithstanding their bad success, they were preparing another when the project of the new company was discussing. They had been invited to become partners in it; but they eluded the proposal, and even hastened the departure of the vessel they had fitted out for Manilla. The elements, however, more favourable than their measures to the views of the minister, obliged it soon to return to Cadiz. It had sustained considerable damage, and would require much time to repair and refit. Government offered to buy vessel and cargo, and the offer was accepted. Behold, then, the first expedition un-

dertaken by the company of the Philippines, at the very moment of its formation.

This company had, like all other new establishments, enthusiastic declaimers in its favour, and bitter censurers. These could not conceive how Spain, who had colonies situated much nearer to her, that were destitute both of population and industry, could think of raising to a flourishing condition her most distant possessions. They were astonished that a commercial enterprise, which was expected to extend its branches to the most remote parts of Asia, should be confided to three directors who had never passed the Cape of Good Hope, and whose knowledge of the East Indies was founded on imperfect or suspected information. They were of opinion that the Spaniards never could struggle with success against experienced nations, who had over them every possible priority. They saw in this enterprise only additional means of squandering away the metals, of which they were but the temporary depositaries. Every place was occupied in the ports, in the counting-houses, and in the markets of India. Were the Philippine company about to carry their speculations as far as China; she would certainly find there many dangerous rivals; and What would she bring back? Tea. The Spanish nation hardly knows the use of it. Other nations have the means of procuring it direct, and would certainly not encourage this trade. Would they

bring porcelain back? This is a very cumbrous article, and few opportunities would occur of disposing of it. Would they bring back silk goods? Would she hurt the home manufactories? Of these several arguments the last appeared the most plausible. But no sooner did the edict which announced the establishment of this company appear, than the manufacturers of Catalonia addressed government with the most pressing remonstrances against it.

We can come to no conclusion from the unfortunate result of this first expedition. It arose from a circumstance which will not occur again. Before the commissaries of the company were arrived at the Philippines to make their purchases, Galvez, faithful to his mania of exclusively directing every thing that belonged to his administration, had invested the governor of these islands with this commission. He, a stranger to mercantile concerns, had nothing to present but tea, muslins, and such goods as were the refuse of other nations; so that the first cargo, the result of this ignorant experiment, remained unsold at Cadiz in 1792.

The plan of operation which followed succeeded better. Of three ships sent out at the same time by the company, one, it is true, received great damage, which was repaired at the Isle of France: the two others returned safe to Cadiz towards the end of 1787, where their cargoes were purchased

with eagerness, and some articles fetched fifty per cent. more than they were valued at on their arrival. Malevolence would not allow that the untoward prognostics were falsified by this first return. She attributed it to the attraction of novelty, and to the scanty supply of goods brought by the company's vessels. She maintained, and not without some probability, that if this taste was once established, the smugglers would soon furnish the same articles better and much cheaper.

It is singular enough that this trade should have found supporters even amongst the Spanish ministry. Lerena had sworn the same hatred to the Philippine company as to the author of it; and there is no doubt but that this sentiment dictated to him some measures, which he coloured over, but very awkwardly. He gave leave to all dealers to import muslins in competition with those of the company. He had laid a duty of twenty-three per cent. on all East India striped and printed linens bought at Canton. This gave to these linens, which are of an inferior quality, formidable rivals in those of other nations who trade to the East Indies. They are indeed totally prohibited in Spain: but it is well known that for a premium of twelve per cent. any goods may be introduced. The admirers of foreign muslins have therefore an advantage of at least eleven per cent. in preferring them to those of the Philippine company.

With such measures, it was not likely that this establishment should prosper; and yet it supported itself in spite of so many impediments. In 1792 her capital was still entire; and her shares, after having been sold at fifty per cent. discount, were again at par. The directors had balanced their accounts, and were convinced that, even with the loss on the sale of the first returns, and several other misfortunes, the company would notwithstanding be gainers.

Since that time several measures have been adopted, which have produced advantageous results.

The extension given by the king to her trade put her at once in direct connexion with the ports of the Caraccas, of Maracaïbo, and Buenos-Ayres, with Mexico, Peru, and the East Indies; which opened a vast career to her navigation from the end of 1793 till the end of 1795.

Her trade, imports as well as exports, with the Caraccas and Maracaïbo, including the cocoa carried by her vessels to Vera Cruz, had produced a profit of

	reals.	m.
That of Buenos Ayes . .	27,863	
Peru . . .	178,992	11
The East Indies .	9,816,575	13
Her profit in the exchange .	1,223,069	33
Total profit for two years .	15,082,408	23

This sum, diminished in part by her losses in the trade with Mexico, by the expenses of ad-

ministration, by the calamities of war, which had destroyed her property in Guipuscoa, by the capital and interest of her different debts; and augmented on the other hand by the overplus of her last balance, would be reduced, every thing considered, to the sum of 10,516,576 reals.

Notwithstanding the disasters of war, and many other losses, the company possessed in property of different kinds, towards the end of 1795, in several places in and out of Spain, a capital which was valued at . . . . . 77,517,005 reals 25 mar.

Until now (the end of 1805) she has paid only three dividends of 5 per cent. (in 1793, 1795, and 1796.) For the last seven years the embarrassments of her trade, and the fatal diversions of war, have obliged her to suspend making any more dividends.

She has however been favoured on another side by several circumstances. Her purchases in India, which had amounted to 48,588,714 reals, have brought her, notwithstanding the sale was retarded for three or four years, a nett profit of 9,816,575 reals 13 mar. They consisted chiefly of muslins of all sorts, white cottons, silks, pepper, sugar, indigo and tea, salt-petre, &c. &c.

From the coast of the Caraccas she had scarcely brought any thing to Spain but cocoa; which sold at a great profit. Since her first expedition in 1785, till 1796, she had employed sixteen vessels

of her own, the largest of them of 879 tons, the least of 450, except one of 280 only, which sailed from Cadiz to the Isle of France.

Besides this, from 1789 to 1796, seventeen vessels belonging to individuals (the largest of 675, and the least of 165 tons burden) had been sent on her account to the Caraccas, to Maracaibo and Lima, and returned with very valuable cargoes.

At the end of 1796 she had acquired a degree of prosperity which could never have been expected from her beginning. This year had been particularly favourable to her by the advantageous sales she had made of the returns of East India goods and cocoa.

Some years after, the Spanish government, encouraged no doubt by its success, gave the company a new form, augmenting its capital, and bestowing on it new privileges. Such was the object of a royal edict which appeared on the 12th of July 1803, and which is divided into four sections and seventy-four articles.

The first section extends the duration of the Philippine company to the 1st of July 1825. The capital is raised from 8,000,000 of piastres to 12,500,000, and the shares from thirty-two thousand to fifty thousand.

By the same section the king holds 9886 shares, besides the 5935 which he took at the establishment of the company; and this makes his capital

in the company's trade amount to 3,943,250 piastres.

The company has the privilege of selling or negotiating the remainder of the shares left, to complete the capital of twelve millions and a half of piastres. Foreigners might buy them, and they might be transferred by merely an indorsement. The holders could convert them into inviolable property in favour of their heirs.

By the second section it was ordered, that the general assembly of the company, which should take place every year in December, should be composed of persons holding at least twenty shares. Each of them should have only one vote, whatever the number of his shares: however, the province of Guipuscoa, the bank of St. Charles, and the company of the *Gremios* should each have five votes.

The direction of the company is vested in a *junta de Gobierno*, and assembles once every week.

On the proposition of this *junta*, the holders of shares determine the dividend to be paid from the profit of the preceding year; reserving, however, the fourth part at least for accidents.

The *junta de Gobierno* shall confide the interests of the company in Spain and abroad, to such commercial houses as she shall think worthy of her confidence; to regulate the rates of commission, and even establish factories.

Of the members of this *junta*, only three shall be perpetual; namely, the directors of the company, who shall each of them receive a salary of sixty thousand reals.

We omit some other details, that are merely local, in the interior organization of the company.

The third section treats of privileges that have been granted her, and of the duties she has to pay.

Her privilege is exclusive for all the expeditions to the Philippine islands and other parts of Asia, as well as the returns to Spain. She can have no other competitors in her trade, but the men-of-war which the king sends to the Philippines in his service.

The king renounces in her favour the laws which interdict the importation into Spain of muslins and other articles of cotton.

The subjects of the king in the Philippines are maintained in the possession of the privilege of sending annually one ship (*Nao*) to Acapulco, without the company taking any share in the venture. She can only embark in this vessel a fixed proportion of the productions of the Philippines, and make use of its return to bring back from Mexico cochineal and other articles of her trade, without however interfering with the interest of the islanders, who may continue to trade freely from one island to another as well as to China and other parts of Asia.

The Asiatic and European nations likewise may continue to trade with the port of Manilla; but can only carry there the productions of Asia, and take back all those of the Philippines, raw cotton excepted; the purchase of which, and exportation for China and the other parts of the Indies, belong exclusively to the company and the inhabitants of these islands.

In consideration of these advantages, the islanders must sacrifice four per cent. on their profit, to be applied for the benefit of their agriculture and industry as well as that of Spain.

To encourage these two sources of prosperity, the company will send them, on board of her ships and without expense, artificers provided with the necessary utensils, and professors of the mathematics, chemistry and botany, who may wish to go to the Philippines.

The company grants to these islanders the fifth part of the tonnage of every vessel, to convey on their own account to Europe the productions of their soil and their industry, free of duty on leaving the Philippines and also on entering Spain.

The company shall pay no duty for goods, whether national or foreign, which she shall export, either from Spain, or those ports in the Indies at which her vessels shall touch.

Those which she has drawn from Asia shall pay, on their arrival in a Spanish port, five per

cent. on the amount of the invoice, and when sent into the interior one third more on this five per cent. All raw materials, such as muslins, handkerchiefs and nankeens, are excepted from this second duty.

The tea and other merchandise from Asia, imported into Spain by the company, pay nothing on re-exportation. They are on a par in every respect with the home productions, even if the company or individuals wish to send them again to South America; in which case the duty paid on entering Spain will be returned.

East-Indian goods, cottons manufactured in Europe that have been confiscated, and prizes taken in war containing prohibited articles, can only be sold to the company.

The fourth section determines the kind of commerce and mode of navigation which the company may adopt.

Liberty is given her to make ventures to Asia, either directly by the Cape of Good Hope, by stopping at Buenos-Ayres, or by Cape Horn; touching at the ports in the South Sea, to dispose of her cargoes. She may bring to Asia the articles she has brought from Europe and those she gets in the South Sea.

Her returns from China and other parts of Asia may come to Spain without touching at the Philippines. If they merely put in for refreshment, they pay no duty.

The company may establish factories on the continent of Asia; and, for this object, export, *free of duty*, silver, fruit, the merchandize of Spain, and even that of foreign countries.

As it is not possible to carry on a trade to Asia only with Spanish and India goods, the company may embark, *free of export duties*, five hundred thousand hard piastres in every expedition.

In time of war she may send every year from Manilla to Lima, and other ports of South America, to the value of 500,000 hard piastres in fruit and merchandize of the Philippines and of Asia, free of duty, on leaving Manilla; but when admitted at Lima and the other ports, the goods from Asia must pay fourteen per cent. on the original invoice, increased with twenty per cent.: and the company, on paying 9½ per cent., may embark the sum their goods have produced in the American ports, in piastres, and carry them to Manilla; and a term of six months is granted, after a peace, to complete any venture engaged in before hearing the news.

It recommends to her as speedily as possible to re-establish the public sales prescribed for her returns by the former edict; but in the mean time she may continue to have warehouses in Spain for disposing of them by retail.

The new edict grants her the same liberty, as others of the king's subjects, to trade with South

America; and in Europe to engage in such speculations as she thinks proper to undertake.

Her ships destined for Asia which shall touch at any American ports, may dispose of their cargoes there on paying the duties established in Spain; but what they take in return for Asia is exempt from duty.

Her vessels shall bear the royal flag, and the officers and sailors enjoy the same privileges as those in the king's service, whose officers may command the company's vessels.

She may build her own ships, or buy them out of Spain free from duty; and in time of war freight those of neutrals. They shall have the same exemptions as the king's ships, in rigging, ammunition and provisions.

This edict, of the contents of which we have only given an abridgement, discovers a fixt intention in the Spanish government to favour the Philippine company at any price; and proves at the same time what extent she must have given to her operations since the time of her foundation. No person, surely, could have thought of increasing her capital more than one third, of extending her ventures to countries at such a distance, of loading her with privileges, some of which are injurious to the revenue, and others derogatory to the ancient strictness of the council of the Indies; if experience had not proved that her establish-

ment must prosper, and would refute the prognostics of her antagonists.

In fact, since 1796, she has given every year more importance to her speculations, particularly in relation to East-India goods and the productions of Peru; and towards the end of 1804, when England declared so suddenly against Spain, she expected the arrival of five frigates richly laden. Four of them brought from Manilla and from Calcutta, where she carried on a direct trade, goods to the amount of TWELVE MILLIONS OF PIASTRES. The fifth returned from Lima with a cargo of nine thousand *fanegas* of cocoa from Guayaquil*, worth at least two millions and a half of French livres. But it is much to be feared that the calamities of a war, for which her government was not prepared, will give a severe shock to her prosperity, or at least suspend it for a long while.

May we say with some enlightened observers, that this would perhaps not be a great misfortune for Spain? Without partaking of the prepossessions which attacked the Philippine company in its cradle, May we not at present, as well as in 1784, regard her utility as doubtful, and her suc-

* The price of the *fanega* of cocoa of Guayaquil is about 60 piastres; that of the Caraccas, sometimes 100. However, the first, notwithstanding its inferior quality, has been imported for some time in large quantities, whilst that from Soconusco, much superior to both, arrives but sparingly.

cesses as more brilliant than solid? Will she not be obliged to renounce the article of tea, which is so difficult to sell in the North, and still more so than ever in England; which finds no sale in the South of Europe, and would find none in Spain without supplanting the chocolate, and thus proving hurtful to the property of many colonies more valuable to Spain than this new company? Will not the sale of Indian silks be hurtful to the home manufactures, which, although they have prospered for some years, still want encouragement? And with respect to the muslins the company brings from the Indies, Would it not be better for Spain to import raw cotton from her colonies, and employ the idle hands of the mother country, than to foster a distant industry, merely to satisfy the unnecessary caprices of her subjects in Europe?

Awake then, Spaniards and allies, to your true interests. The edifice of your prosperity is at least planned, and the ground begins to be cleared from the rubbish which the ignorance of two centuries and some false calculations have heaped up. The building is sketched; be attentive to the foundation, and you may afterwards think of decorating the outside.

What the government has for some time done for Mexico appears at least to be better planned, and incontestable success crowns her efforts. Galvez had a particular affection for this vast and rich colony, the theatre of his industry, his talents,

and some of his extravagancies. She owes to him in a great measure her flourishing state, from which the mother country reaps advantages as well as foreign nations; because the Mexicans, eager for the productions and the luxuries of the old world, and daily increasing in riches and population, present a new opening for the works of European industry.

Galvez encouraged the cultivation of corn in Mexico:—for five-and-twenty years she has grown more than was necessary for her own consumption, and very soon will be able to supply all Spanish America.

Tobacco, the growth of which he introduced into two cantons near the capital, is become in a few years the principal source of revenue which the mother country receives from her colonies.

The miners of Mexico have above all reason to be satisfied with the ministry of Galvez; and, as a mark of their gratitude, have settled on him a considerable pension inheritable by his heirs. For a long while the quicksilver of the mines of Guancavelica, which was at first so abundant, has proved insufficient for the working of the Mexican mines. That of Almaden, the last village in La Mancha, on the confines of the kingdom of Cordova, furnished it almost alone. Galvez, in perfecting the works in this village, has obtained a greater supply of quicksilver. Before him, no more than seven or eight thousand quintals were

procured annually; he nearly doubled the quantity, and made an arrangement with the miners, by which the quintal of quicksilver, which cost before eighty piastres, was furnished for forty-one. From this a very considerable increase in the produce of the mines resulted. In 1782, they afforded twenty-seven millions of piastres, and would have produced thirty millions, if there had been sufficient quicksilver for working. But whilst these things were going on, a defect in the construction of the galleries in the mines of Almaden having caused an almost total inundation, and suspended the working, the Spanish government concluded, in 1784, for six years, a bargain with the emperor of Germany, which was afterwards renewed, and in virtue of which he engaged to furnish from the mines of Idria, in Austria, six thousand quintals of quicksilver per annum, at the price of fifty-two piastres. By these means the miners have continued their works, which of late years have been more productive than ever. This happened very à-propos for Spain, as it enabled her to sustain the war with France, and would have furnished her with great resources for that in which she is at present engaged with the English, if, before the latter declared themselves, they had not deprived her of a considerable part of her treasure from abroad.

The produce of the American mines, however, is not always all profit for those who work them. Some part of this goes to the revenue. The du-

ties it receives on their produce, either in ingots, or money from Lima, Santa Fe, Carthagena, but particularly Mexico, have varied much since the conquest, and are not more uniform in all the Spanish colonies.

At first a *quint*, or fifth part of all that was extracted from every mine, was demanded; a few excepted, for which the duty was reduced to a tenth, or even a twentieth.

In 1552, Charles V added *one and a half per cent.*, on account of smelting, assaying, and marking; a retribution known in Peru under the name of *cobas*.

Afterwards this *quint* was reduced for Peru and Mexico to a tenth, and for Santa Fe to a twentieth part on the gold, the only metal she had produced for a long time: the *cobas*, however, was continued in all the vice-royalties.

In 1777 there was an alteration in the duties, but only relative to the gold, which throughout America paid no more than 3 per cent.

At length, in 1790, silver mines being discovered in Santa Fe, they were assimilated to those of Peru and Mexico.

Therefore, according to this last analysis, the silver that comes from the American mines pays eleven and a half, and the gold only three per cent. It would appear then, that in order to ascertain accurately the produce of these mines, it would be sufficient to know the amount of

the duties the government receives on their working. This, however, would not come very near; because, in the first place, a part of the produce of the mines is exported in a fraudulent manner without having been converted into money; and further, the returns which come to Europe for the king's account are blended with what he receives from America under other titles. Such are the custom-house duties; the profits from the sale of certain articles, viz. quicksilver, paper, &c., embarked for account of the king, and resold for his advantage. We have therefore been obliged to recur to other channels to be enabled to affirm, as we have done in the preceding chapter, that the produce of the mines in Spanish America amounts, in later times, to THIRTY-FIVE MILLIONS OF PIASTRES per annum.

If, as is very probable, the working of these mines becomes from time to time more lucrative, it would seem that the produce of them at the expiration of a few years will increase the specie in Europe to an alarming degree; but this inconvenience is lessened by the nature of the commercial transactions of Europe with Asia, and particularly with China, where, as is well known, a large quantity of silver and gold is annually absorbed.

However that may be, this progressive increase of metals is incontestably profitable to the individual possessors of the mines of Mexico and Peru, and in some degree to the revenues of Spain, which

increase in proportion with the produce of the mines. But is it equally advantageous to Spain as a nation and as a power?

This difficulty is worth starting.

Supported by the experience of the last century, many enlightened foreigners will not hesitate in resolving this question. They will say, (and they will find beyond the Pyrenees many a good citizen of their mind,) that this excessive increase of specie impedes the actual tendency to prosperity of the manufactures in Spain; that the price of every thing must keep pace with this multiplication; that if the progress of Spanish industry should retain the greatest part of this specie, destined to the present time to pay her balance, it will soon happen that the dearness of labour will again check industry in the midst of her brilliant career, and cause a retrograde motion in that eternal round from which she never can be extricated.

On these principles you would say to the Spaniards, "Far from using any efforts to increase "the produce of your mines, shut some of them "up; confine the circulation of your metals in "the Old World, to a sufficiency for replacing "what is imperceptibly wasted; what luxury ex- "pends for her gratifications; what avarice swal- "lows up, as well in Asia as in Europe; follow "the example of the Portuguese, who so limit the "working of their diamond mines as not to glut "the market; that of the Dutch, who burn the

" remainder of their spices, after having kept just " enough for ordinary consumption. The silver " of Mexico is your diamonds, your spices. If " you treble the amount, your miners, whose " hands could be better employed, will have more " trouble, but you will not be the richer. You " will only pay three times dearer for the produc- " tions of foreign industry, which you will never " be able entirely to do without."

To these, at least specious, arguments the Spaniards answer: " We see nothing so frightful " in the increase of our specie; the revenue at " least reaps a clear benefit from it. Besides, " whilst other states in Europe are busy in increas- " ing their revenues; whilst they find in this " increase the means of providing for any great " enterprise, either in peace or war, By what fatality " should Spain alone find her downfall in that " which constitutes the prosperity of other states?

" We shall say as much of our manufactures. " Whilst their operations keep pace with the " working of our mines, our specie will at once " increase with us, as well as with the indus- " trious foreigner who supplies us with his pro- " ductions, the surplus of which we send to Mex- " ico and Peru. We can see nothing formida- " ble in this perspective; but, on the contrary, we " ask, Who are the most flourishing nations? Are " they not France and England; those who with- " out comparison have the greatest quantity of

" specie? What signifies where it comes from? " This combined produce of our mines and our " industry will not be the less useful to Spain " in the hands of her great moneyed men, who " in their turn will embellish our towns and our " villas, who will furnish funds for public esta- " blishments, where the state in critical moments " may be accommodated with loans, and receive " assistance on terms less burdensome than in " former times. We have no objection to allow " that a time may come when our prosperity, ar- " rived at its acme, may occasion our downfall: " this will be when our workmen are become so " industrious and perfect that foreign productions " will become entirely useless. If at the same " time that the produce of our mines tends conti- " nually to increase our specie, all outlets are " stopped up, this situation, which may be con- " sidered as chimerical, would produce an inevitable " inconvenience. The excessively high price of " labour in Spain would call for the productions " of foreign manufactories, in spite of every pro- " hibition. The specie would go out by the chan- " nels which these would open; the home ma- " nufactures would languish for want of a sale; " the useless hands would henceforth disappear " when they could be no longer employed, and " Spain would again be reduced to a want of popu- " lation, to inertia, and to poverty. But we are " still very far from such circumstances as would

"realise this sad foreboding; and whilst a more "imminent danger condemns our manufacturers "and our miners to inaction, we think we may "continue to draw from this double source the "means of our future prosperity."

Whatever may be thought of this reasoning, it serves for the basis of the system which Spain has adopted for many years. She is persuaded that from an unremitted activity in her manufactures, accompanied by an abundant production of her mines, her greatest splendour must result.

Experience hitherto seems to confirm the soundness of this plan; But is it well adapted to the situation, the morals, and the political interest of Spain? Are there no other means of improving at the same time the mother country and the colonies? Several propositions have been made at different times that had this object in view. I shall not speak of that for which neither Spain, nor any other European power is, as yet, sufficiently enlightened. I will not say that, following the dictates of sound philosophy, the court of Madrid should declare her colonies independent, and profit from the enthusiasm which this act of generosity could not fail to excite, in establishing with them bonds of friendship and commerce much more solid than those stipulated in treaties dictated by craft or sordid interest. No; such a grievous sacrifice was not recommended in any of the plans proposed to her at different times.

About eighteen years ago a project was presented to the court of Madrid, which would entirely have changed the face of the commercial world in favour of Spain. It was, not precisely to cut through the isthmus of Panama, which had been hinted at more than once before, but to open a communication between the gulf of Mexico and the South Sea, and thus to resolve at once the great problem on the surest means of facilitating the commercial intercourse of Europe with the most industrious and fertile parts of Asia.

Besides the old project, which was to join the two seas by the river Chagre, that is navigable as far as Cruces, five leagues from Panama, there was a second, which was to effect this junction by the rivers Chamaluzon and St. Michael in the gulf of Honduras. Both the one and the other had been considered, in the reign of Philip II. as almost impracticable. That proposed about the end of the reign of Charles III seemed to have foreseen every objection, and comprised in itself every advantage. It consisted in making use of *Rio San Juan*, which has its source in lake Nicaragua, and empties itself into the gulf of Mexico: this lake is separated from the South Sea by an isthmus of only twelve thousand toises. Its shores abound with productions of all sorts, and with timber proper for building. Like other flowing rivers, its waters either rise above the two seas,

or are on a level with them. There was therefore no inundation, no violent irruption to fear.

The adoption of this plan would not only have made lake Nicaragua the centre of the most brilliant commerce in the universe, but also that of the land and naval forces of Spain for the West Indies, and the staple of all the rich productions of both Americas.

This fine perspective did not dazzle the Spanish government. The authors of the project were Frenchmen, and Spain began to be tired of seeing foreigners, particularly Frenchmen, undertaking all the grand enterprises. In this she was less struck with the advantages than the inconveniences. She had stationed during several years some prying importunates exactly in the centre of her American possessions, and one of the most rich and populous tracts. What opportunities would not these troublesome guests have to implant along all this coast, and from thence even to the extent of the Red Sea, as far as the Streights of Magellan, the seeds of an insurrection which she had already too much encouraged, in espousing the cause of the free North Americans! How easy to stock with contraband goods all those rich colonists, who, being refined, were consequently eager after the productions of Europe! Besides, if the execution of this project must really effectuate the splendour and power of Spain in the New World, Could she flatter herself that the other powers of Europe

would have peaceably suffered it to be brought to a conclusion? And in the last result, would she not find that she had laboured more for these dangerous rivals than for herself? She could not keep to herself exclusively the benefit of this communication. She had no more the bulls of Alexander VI to oppose to the temptations of navigators, or the avarice of merchants. The passage must therefore have been open to all powers; but this would be to admit them to traverse at all times the centre of her possessions, and to furnish them with an opportunity of not only touching at, but of remaining there under various pretences. What advantages could compensate the inconvenience of harbouring such spies! The nations which Nature has condemned to it, such as the Turks in the Straits of the Dardanelles, in the Bosphorus of Thrace, are obliged to resign themselves to it; but it would be the height of folly for a nation to create for itself this source of quarrels and of dangers.

These no doubt were the reasons which prevented the court of Madrid from favouring the project I have just represented. It will certainly be executed one day or other; but by a neighbouring people, by a new race, who in the first effervescence of liberty and commercial enterprise, will find means to cut through the isthmuses which oppose a few hillocks to their navigation, as they have already forced the mouth of a great river to

open a route to the ocean. It is you, perhaps, enterprising and industrious inhabitants of Kentucky, who will be the first to drink tea, to dress your wives with the fine stuffs you have fetched from India, without making the tour of America, or doubling the Cape of Good Hope. But the Spaniards, who are already spoiled for great enterprises, whose caution is timidity, and whose distrust and suspicion border on dotage, will hardly embrace so bold an idea,—especially with a council for the Indies who are the religious and obstinate defenders of old maxims, and during the despotic influence of a suspicious and jealous minister. It is a great deal for Spain to have shaken off the yoke of several other prejudices which kept her and her colonies in a state of destructive languor; to have established manufactories; to have begun to make roads and canals; to have given a kind of freedom to her trade with the Spanish Indies, and almost complete freedom to two of her colonies: in a word, in the course of about thirty years to have produced a considerable increase in the industry, the riches, and the activity of her inhabitants. This alone is sufficient to refute by facts a part of the serious charges which the rest of Europe bring against the Spaniards, the justness of which will be the object of the following chapter.

CHAPTER X.

Character of the people in general. Some traits peculiar to the Spaniards. Pride. Gravity. Sloth. Idleness. Superstition.

IT is difficult to delineate national character. Almost always such pictures are portraits, which, under a brilliant pencil, may possess every merit but that of likeness. From such descriptions it is impossible to form a right idea of any modern people. Since Europe has been civilized from one end to the other, it would be easier to class its inhabitants by professions than by nations. Thus, all Frenchmen, all Englishmen, and all Spaniards would not resemble one another; but almost all those amongst these three people who have had nearly the same education, or have led the same kind of life, would. All their lawyers, for instance, would resemble one another by their attachment to forms and a taste for chicane; all their literati, by their pedantry; all their traders, by their avidity; all their sailors, by their coarseness; and all their courtiers, by their complaisance. That all the individuals of a nation should have the same natural and moral physiognomy, it would be requisite that they lived under the influence of the same climate,

followed the same occupations, and professed the same religion. It would be necessary, if they belonged to a polished nation, that they should live under a very stable form of government, and that the part which they bore in it gave to their ideas, to their sentiments, and even to the exterior of their body, an uniform and settled manner. It is the concurrence of all these points of union that can alone justify the application of the portrait of a single individual, taken at a venture, to a whole nation. A difference in any of these respects is sufficient to vary their physical and moral features *ad infinitum*. It would therefore be easy to give the character of the ancient Scythians, of a pastoral people, of the savages of Canada, and of all barbarians who have a simple religion, few laws, and few communications with other nations.

It is for this reason that the Greeks and Romans, in the brightest periods of their several republics, concentrating almost all their affections in a zeal for their country, in liberty and glory, inhabiting a limited tract, where the influence of the climate was nearly the same throughout, might be painted almost all with the same features. For the same reasons, in speaking of nations nearer to us, as well in time as in position, the English, the Swiss, and even the Dutch, would require more uniformity in colouring than any others:—the English, from that general inquie-

tude which fixes their eyes on a government whose every proceeding, notwithstanding the imperfection of their representation in parliament, is submitted to the examination of every individual; from their insular situation, which makes them all more or less fit for the dangers of navigation and speculations in maritime commerce; from that national arrogance, which their dominion of the seas, so feebly contested, in some degree justifies:—the Swiss, from their local situation, which till within a short time made them, out of the reach of harm, spectators of the convulsions of Europe:—the Dutch, who, even before they had established a nearer uniformity between the governments of their different provinces, had *all* their respective point of union in their attachment to liberty, in the nature of their soil, and in their situation on the shores of the sea, and of their own canals;—circumstances from which a kind of identity in their occupations, in their taste, and even in their passions, must result.

But who could flatter himself with being able to trace the character of the whole German, Italian, or French nations? What a difference in the climate, the productions, the employments, the laws, and the language of one province from those of another! Who would apply to a Suabian or to a Westphalian the portrait of a Saxon or

an *Austrian*; to a *Neapolitan* that of a Venetian; to a native of *Languedoc* that of a Flemming?

The Spaniards are similarly circumstanced to these three nations. There are between the inhabitants of their principal provinces differences so striking, from climate, manners, disposition, language, temper, and exterior forms, that the portrait of a Gallician would more nearly resemble that of a native of Auvergne than a Catalonian, and that of an Andalusian would be more like a Gascon than a Castillian. If the Spaniards ever had characteristic features applicable to all the inhabitants of their peninsula, it was at the time when the Arabians settled amongst them, and stamped them with a particular seal; and, notwithstanding the different causes which now separate them, communicated to them a portion of their manners, the turn of their noble, grand, sometimes gigantic, in a word, ORIENTAL ideas; their taste for the arts and sciences; and every thing of which there are still traces in the provinces where they resided the longest;—it was when the high opinion which the Spaniards entertained of their nation, (and which circumstances justified,) expressed itself in their whole frame, and made them all resemble the portrait drawn of them at this day, and which represents them grave, austere and generous, breathing nothing but war

and adventures. Finally, it was when in their general assemblies, called *cortes*, they all took a more or less active part in the government, when they directed or watched over all its operations, and when they exemplified more energetically than at present that patriotism which acts so powerfully on the opinions, the affections, and the manners.

But these three causes of uniformity in the national character have almost disappeared, and, in vanishing, have left the Spaniards to the more immediate influence of the climate, the laws, and the productions of their different provinces; so that to represent them as they now are, we must subdivide them into Castillians, Catalonians, Arragonese, Navarrese, Andalusians, Biscayans, and Asturians, and draw of each of these people a separate portrait; a task difficult and unpleasant, and which could not be accomplished without accompanying almost every rule with an exception, where it would be difficult to be correct without being minute, just without appearing severe, or an apologist without being considered as a flatterer.

This revolution, however, has not been so universal, but that some features remain by which the whole Spanish nation is still to be recognised. A part of their manners has survived the events which altered them. The empire of the climate has

been modified, but not destroyed. In many respects the provinces have the same form of government. The court of an absolute monarch is still the centre of all vows and affections. All the modern Spaniards profess the same religion. Their literature is still from the same models, and in the same taste. In these several respects they have preserved the features of their forefathers. Let us attempt to sketch them.

At the period when Spain acted such a grand part, when she discovered and conquered the New World; when, not satisfied with domineering over a great part of Europe, she agitated and convulsed the other, either by intrigues or by military enterprises; at this period, the Spaniards became intoxicated with that national pride which breathed in their exterior, their gestures, their discourse, and their writings. As it then existed, it gave them an air of grandeur, which was overlooked at least by those whom it did not inspire with respect. But by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances, this splendour is eclipsed; yet the pretensions for which it formed an excuse have survived. The Spaniard of the sixteenth century has disappeared, but his mask remains. Hence that proud and grave exterior which distinguishes them still in our days, and which has often brought to my mind these two lines of one of our poets on original sin, notwithstanding the consequences

of which the noble destination of man is still recognisable.

C'est du haut de son trône un roi précipité,
Qui garde sur son front un trait de majesté *.

The modern Spaniard presents in his countenance the impression of his ancient character. Whether in speaking or in writing, his expressions have such exaggerated turns as border on rodomontade. He has a high idea of his nation, which he expresses without caution, and often without address. He does not show his vanity by those pleasingly exaggerated turns which provoke laughter more than they offend, and which characterize the inhabitants of one of our provinces. When he praises himself, it is gravely, and with all the pompousness of his language.

I am, however, much inclined to believe that the genius of his language may also account for this inflation of style. Not only has it adopted many words and expressions of the Arabians, but is as it were impregnated with the Oriental spirit, which this people has naturalised in Spain. This spirit is found in all their productions of imagination, in their religious compositions, in their plays, and in their romances. It is perhaps one of the principal causes of the slow progress

* A king hurled from the height of his throne, who still retains on his brow a trait of majesty.

of sound philosophy; because, carrying every thing beyond the truth, heaping images around the most simple ideas, caressing every thing that tends to the wonderful, it surrounds with illusion the sanctuary of truth, and renders it as it were inaccessible.

But this pride, which would be noble if more moderate; this gravity, which always deceives and sometimes repulses; are compensated by very estimable qualities; or rather, they are the source of them. Individual as well as national pride elevates the soul, and guards it against meanness; and such is the effect of Spanish pride. There are in Spain, as elsewhere, vices and crimes; but they wear in general this prominent feature of the Spanish character. It is to be perceived even in a dungeon, and under the tatters of misery. It even balances to a certain point the genius of a language essentially diffuse, where the ear seems to be pleased with a collection of sonorous words, and where an abundance of words is taken for an abundance of ideas. Pride is commonly very precise; she disdains to go into detail, and loves expressions ænigmatical from their conciseness, which leave something to think on, and sometimes to guess at. Hence it happens that these same Spaniards, who, when their imagination is ever so little heated, display all the richness of their language, are perfectly laconic when their mind is calm. I could quote a hundred examples, but

will only state two. I have business to transact with a Spaniard of an obscure class; I find him at home gravely caressing an infant. I ask him, "Are you the father of this child?" to which a Frenchman would have gaily answered, *Yes, Sir, or at least I ought to think so*; and would thus have said more than I wanted to know. The Castillian, without being deranged, without receiving my question with a smile, would coolly answer, *It was born in my house*; and then talk of something else.

Another example of laconicism:—A French traveller, on entering Castille, meets a shepherd with a flock of sheep. Curious to know all the circumstances which produce the valuable qualities in the wool, he tires the shepherd with questions; asks him whether his flock belongs to the province; what food he gives them; whether he is on a journey; whence he comes, and where he is going; at what time he begins his journey, and at what period he returns home, &c. The shepherd, after a cool hearing, answers; *Aqui nacen*; *aqui pacen*; *aqui mueren* *, and continues his way.

This Spanish gravity, which is become proverbial, is, however, far from what is generally conceived. It is true, you seldom find amongst the

* Here they were born; here they feed; and here they will die.

Spaniards what we call affability. They will never go to meet you, but wait for you. This forbidding exterior, however, often envelops a good and kind heart, which you will find when you least expect it. Strangers to the empty grimaces of French politeness, the Spaniards are sparing of gesticulations. The smile of good-will is seldom the mask of duplicity, and their heart commonly expands with their countenance. How often has it happened to me to be for a long while repulsed by their exterior of a Spaniard; when, conquering my repugnance, I have found him complaisant and good, not with grimace but in reality; and obliging, not merely in profession, but in performance! The urbanity acquired by a refined education is perhaps wanting in a Spaniard, and which too often serves as a cloak for falsehood and disdain. But he supplies this defect by a blunt frankness, and that good nature which announces and inspires confidence. Their great men have no dignity, if we call *dignity* that feature which is always circumspect and distant, for fear of encouraging familiarity; and cares very little whether it is beloved, provided it be respected. They do not, in an ungracious manner, point out the distinction of ranks, nor do they disdain to form connexions with those classes of people whom they consider as their inferiors. We no more see amongst them such personages as the duke of Alva, don Louis de Haro, don Peñaranda, whose cha-

racters, so well known throughout Europe, have contributed no doubt to spread the idea that is still maintained of the imperious pride of the high Spanish nobility. At least the nation is not what she has been; and if some individuals still wear the stamp of it, it is in them not so much a mark of pride, as of coldness, timidity, and embarrassment.

The grandees, nevertheless, and those who without being so consider themselves of as illustrious a cast, still possess a high idea of their birth, and occasionally show it, particularly to those who aspire to be their equals. The pride of *thouing*, (tutoiement,) of which we have spoken above, is every day a proof of it; but this pride is not to be discovered towards those inferiors who solicit and enjoy their favours; near and around the throne it is entirely extinguished. There their dignity is sometimes brought to life again. Despotism, clad in the mantle of goodness, as it has constantly been in this century, seems to load them with its weight, and almost crush them. Placed under his eye, they find there nothing but slavery and vexation, yet have not the spirit to seek elsewhere the means of dissipating them, and of acquiring independence. We may with more propriety say of them now than formerly, "They "might be petty sovereigns on their estates, if "they would; but they prefer being servants at "court." Exceptions are rare, and consequently

observed. There are some, however, who prove that they feel, if not the dignity of their existence, at least that of their race. I have myself known some to banish themselves from court, and prefer the appearance of disgrace to the shame of a mean condescension; and others who have occasionally indulged themselves in spirited repartees. One of them, who was very often with the present monarch when he was prince of Asturias, is of remarkably low stature. The prince often joked with him on it. One day, being tired of constantly hearing himself called *little*, he replied with a noble coolness, which was received without anger, *Señor, en mi casa me llaman grande*; "Signor, at home I am called great."

The ladies of these grandees seem to have preserved that haughty look which is attributed to the first nobility of Spain. It is scarcely possible to be more cold, more grave, or to appear more listless than the greater part of these ladies; I could except five or six, but I will not sow dissension amongst that portion of the fair sex which is destined to embellish the court.

This apparent gravity, however, very often conceals, amongst all classes of people, a gaiety which requires only to be provoked in order to show itself. I will not adduce as a proof the Spanish stage, where buffoonery is so well received; because it has often been remarked, that the theatres of sprightly nations are more serious than those of

grave nations; as if the mind were better pleased with those emotions that distract it from its habitual state.

But to judge whether the Spaniards are lively, go into their private circles when they are quite at home; be present at their meals, even before the vapours from the viands and the wine have put their brains in a fermentation; make one at their *conversaziones*, full of pleasant sallies of wit, bons mots, &c., all the legitimate or illegitimate offspring of gaiety, and you will find them as free and entertaining as our countrymen. It may be replied, perhaps, that this gaiety is too noisy, that it is vulgar. But away with that delicacy which would condemn us to ennui. Besides, whether approved or not by people of fashion, this gaiety continues, in spite of any prejudice to the contrary.

It is much the same with respect to other faults imputed to the Spaniards. If I have not absolutely acquitted them of idleness, I have said, and I repeat it, that it is occasioned by transient circumstances, and will disappear with them. Indeed, when we observe the activity so general on the coast of Catalonia, in the kingdom of Valencia, in the mountains of Biscay, every where, in short, where industry is encouraged, and where the productions have a sure and easy sale, especially where this industry has a facility of conveyance and an object to aim at; when, on the other

hand, we observe the hard and tiresome life of the muleteers, those carriers who traverse the steepest roads;—when we view their husbandmen, who in the plains of La Mancha and Andalusia are employed in agriculture, which the nature of the soil, the distance of their habitations, and the heat of the most burning climate in Europe, make excessively laborious;—if we consider the shoal of Galicians and Asturians, who, like our Auvergnats and our Limousins, go to a distance to seek fatigue and the scanty means of subsistence; if we see at last that the idleness with which the Spaniards are so much reproached, is confined to the two Castilles, that is to say, to that part of Spain the least provided with roads and canals, and the most distant from the sea,—are we not justified in the conclusion, that this vice is neither indelibly fixed, nor an universal trait in the Spanish character?

There is another fault which has a great affinity to idleness, and which at least discovers itself by the same symptoms, I mean sluggishness: and it is more difficult to clear the Spaniards from this. The light, it must be confessed, penetrates them very slowly. In politics, in war, in the other operations of government, even in common life, when others act they are still deliberating. Distrustful and circumspect, they do as much harm by slowness as others do by precipitation; which is the more extraordinary, as their lively imagination should seem rather to be irritated by delay.

But it is with nations as with individuals: there is hardly a quality which is not modified by a contrary one; and in this struggle the triumph is always on that side where the mind is impelled with the greatest force by circumstances of the moment. So the Spaniard, naturally cold and reflecting when nothing extraordinary moves him, is inflamed to enthusiasm when pride, resentment, or some one of the passions which compose his character, is awakened by outrage or contradiction. This is the reason why the nation, apparently the most grave, the coolest, and the slowest, in Europe, becomes one of the most violent when circumstances have drawn it from its habitual calmness to put it under the empire of imagination. The most formidable animals are not the most lively. Observe the lion: his countenance as well as his gait is grave; his movements have always an object in view; his voice is never wasted in useless roaring. As long as you respect his inaction, he loves peace and silence; but provoke him, he shakes his mane, his eyes sparkle with fire, he roars, and you recognise in him the king of animals.

I shall not say from this, that the Spaniard is the king of Europe, though he formerly had pretensions to that title. I only say that this people prove, more perhaps than any other nation in the world, that qualities in appearance the most opposite may be found united in one character;

such as vigour and sluggishness, cool gravity and extreme irascibility. He carries this mixture into two of the principal affections of the mind, devotion and courage. Under the most calm exterior, one leads him to fanaticism, and the other to fury; for I will not palliate his excesses, often ridiculous and sometimes atrocious, in what he calls his attachment to religion; nor detract from the claim his courage has to admiration. He deserves to be viewed in these respects with attention.

Yes, I confess it, the Spanish nation, with some almost modern exceptions, is addicted to devotional credulity, to religious mummery, and is justly accused of superstition. It may even be pronounced, in the strictest acceptation of the term, that this illegitimate sister of Religion has been to the present day, almost without interruption, either on the throne or very near it. She was constantly at the side of the feeble and valetudinary Charles II. She accompanied Philip V, a good and virtuous prince, but without energy; he was truly pious, but carried his piety to excess. She attached herself to Ferdinant VI, with a taste for pomp and gaiety, more consistent with these three monarchs and their successors than the greatest part of their subjects. She defended them from dissolute morals; and accounts for the rare phænomenon of a succession of monarchs without a mistress.

As to Charles III, simple in his manners, exemplarily regular in his private life, scrupulously honest even as a monarch, he paid till his death, in his actions as well as his conversation, a tribute to superstition.

It was more particularly required of the founder of the order which bears the name of St. Januarius, and which has for its motto, *In sanguine fœdus*, to believe in the liquefaction of the blood of that blessed Neapolitan. Nor did he ever miss an opportunity of manifesting the blind faith he had plighted to this wonder. I have heard him relate that whilst he reigned at Naples, the miracle was interrupted all at once. In vain was the sacred phial shaken; the blood remained congealed. The cause was a longwhile sought after, and at last found. It must be remembered that this phial is deposited in the shrine itself of the saint, but separated from it by a partition. There is a tradition at Naples, that in order to effect the liquefaction, there must not be the least communication between the body of St. Januarius and his miraculous blood. The tomb was examined with care, and a crack was discovered in the partition, which being immediately repaired, the blood recovered its property. Let any one explain this miracle as he pleases, but to doubt of it is impossible. For, as the good Fontaine has said; *Jamais un roi ne ment*; and Charles III deserved this praise more than any other.

This prince amused himself with relating another event perhaps still more extraordinary. We may call to our recollection the danger he was in in 1744, when an Austrian army under Prince Lobkowitz went to Naples to dethrone Don Carlos, (which was himself,) and the good luck he had of escaping from the battle of Veletri. The success of this affair depended, said the prince, on a battery opportunely raised at the entrance of a street where the Austrians must have entered to search for him. The battery played on them in such a manner that they were obliged to take another road; and the victory escaped them as well as their prey. When the battle was over, the skilful, faithful servant who had planted this preserving battery was sought after through the whole army; even a reward was offered, but nobody appeared. Upon this Don Carlos and those about him had no doubt that it had been placed there by the hand of God himself, and Charles III carried this belief with him to the grave.

The faith he had in the immaculate conception has been consecrated by the establishment of another order, to which he gave the name. He has left his successor his virtues, as a legacy, without forgetting that first of theological virtues, which seems to be a necessary duty of the monarch emphatically called *Catholic*.

It may be concluded that such pious monarchs must be surrounded with servants, and must have

many subjects, who are animated by the same zeal for religion and for every thing belonging to it, whether far or near; and we must do that justice to the greater part of the grandees, the ministers, and the generals, to say, that in this respect they follow their august examples. There are few grandees who have not some relics amongst the jewels of their family, and who do not sing an anthem to the Virgin every morning.

I have heard the minister Galvez (who certainly could not be accused of having a weak head) relate that he was witness to the following fact. Being at Seville, he had the *happiness* of viewing there the body of St. Ferdinand. The air of serenity which still reigned in every feature inspired a devotion which it was impossible to resist. An Englishman who was amongst the spectators, and had before used the most impious language respecting all the practices of the Romish religion, was so moved by the venerable aspect of this blessed saint, that he burst into tears in the church, and became on the instant a most devout catholic. The same minister at another time related, that whilst at Mexico he had seen the first bishop of Guadalaxara, who had died in the odour of sanctity. His body escaped corruption; and being again habited in his pontificals, he seemed to enjoy a peaceful slumber. His beatification was then thought of: "and certainly," said he, "the bishop had

strong claims to it. His life had been a tissue of miracles. Judge of one. Before he was elevated to the bishopric he was counsellor of the audience of Guadalaxara. A criminal suit was brought before this tribunal; the accused was found guilty; and all voices, including the future bishop, had pronounced the sentence of death. But when it was presented to the judges, the holy man obstinately refused to sign it. They urge his compliance, and demand the reason of this inconsistency. He explained at last, and answered, that bishops could not sign a sentence of death.—'But you are no bishop.'—'I feel that I am one.' The court thought him deranged;—but were undeceived, when some months after they learned that on the very day of his refusal the pope had nominated him to the bishopric of Guadalaxara."

If any more general proofs of the propensity of the Spaniards to superstitious belief be wanted, let it be recollected that in 1780 the Spanish navy received a violent check in the latitude of Cadiz. One of her squadrons was fallen in with by Rodney; and notwithstanding the courage of her admiral, Langara, was put to flight. Four of their ships fell into the hands of the English. Their names were the *Phœnix*, the *Diligent*, the *Princess*, and the *St. Dominique*. All those that escaped were called after saints. This did not pass unobserved; and as, by a singular chance, the *St. Do-*

minique blew up at the instant of boarding, it was believed that her patron rather chose she should perish than fall into the hands of heretics.

I am far, however, from supposing that it was the officers of this squadron who made the remark. They are not all like admiral Barcelo, who having begun his career as master of a barque, and risen to the highest station (carrying with him the simplicity of his origin), said that there was no merit in his courage, because he was invulnerable: at the same time, showing his scapulary, he very seriously declared, that he had more than once seen balls coming directly to him, but that at the approach of this talisman they had turned aside. There are no doubt, in every class of people amongst the Spaniards, many who are superstitious to the most ridiculous degree. But where is the nation, ancient or modern, on whom the same reproach may not be made? The Greeks, the Romans, their philosophers, their historians, Plutarch, Livy, Tacitus, even Socrates, have they not all paid this tribute to human weakness? The head of Pascal, one of the soundest we ever had, was it exempted from it? Did not Racine believe and relate some of the miracles wrought at Port Royal? It is true, to this day the Spaniards are in this respect more credulous than every other people in Europe. There are, however, and I know several, who have derived from education, their own reflections, and travel, very sound ideas of re-

ligion; some even express themselves on the articles of faith which the church does not imperiously command, with a freedom that may be called philosophical*. I have seen even ecclesiastics not far from sharing in such bold opinions.

But in the classes where education is neglected, (and these are very numerous) where little communication with their betters, and few means of enlightening themselves, are to be had, superstition and fanaticism are still carried to a degree seldom found in Flanders or Bavaria; because reli-

* In the midst of this Spanish nation, who have the reputed character of being so much inclined to superstition; some take the liberty of publishing reflections not uncalculated to shake the faith a little, or to prove to those who hear or read them without being offended, that theirs is not very strong. In the reign of Philip V, a king most fervently attached to religion, an officer of his own regiment of guards, Don Gerardo Lobo, published a collection of poetry, in which is the following stanza, relative to a battle between the Moors and the Spaniards:

VENICRON LOS SARACENOS
Y NOS MATARON A PALOS;
PUES DIOS ESTA POR LOS MALOS,
QUANDO SON MAS QUE LOS BUENOS.

The Saracens came and thrashed us soundly. For God declares himself for the wicked when they are more numerous than the good.

Well,—Readers the most devout only smiled, and the author was not even *admonished*.

The Spaniards, in their convivial circles, indulge themselves with little scruple and with impunity in many pleasantries and

gion, always assimilating with the character of the people, must have very warm and ardent votaries in a nation remarkable for the vivacity of its imagination and the violence of its passions.

This mixture of strength and imbecility produces still in our days the most cruelly fantastical effects. There is a church in Madrid, where, during the Holy Week, the most fervent of the faithful meet in a dark vault. Long whips are given them on their entrance. They strip themselves naked to the waist, and, on a signal given, flagellate themselves with such violence that the blood runs in streams. Silence during this barbarous ceremony is interrupted only by the sighs of repentance, and the groans of pain. Thus most of them employ a transient cessation from a life of licentiousness.— Unhappy wretches! they have no other witnesses to this voluntary martyrdom than God and their conscience, and the next day

sprightly stories, which would frighten the severely orthodox. I will quote one of these tales because it is short, and will give an idea to what a degree of gaiety these people, who are considered so very grave and religious, may be carried. A Spaniard was rowing singly in a boat, in view of his comrades, when it upset. The man tried to swim, but could do it but badly; he was near sinking, but by catching hold of some rushes he happily saved himself. "Ah!" cried his comrades, "thank God, you are saved!" "Thank God!" said he, gaily, "Pray say 'Thanks to the rushes!' for, as to God, his intention was plain enough."

belie one and the other. They have the courage to chastise themselves, but not to amend; and there is nothing but clear loss in this cruel act of superstition.

It may easily be imagined that the metropolis has not this privilege exclusively. In some provinces, the day begins with such scenes of scandalous piety. A very creditable gentleman assured me that he was witness a few years ago, in a town of Estramadura, of the following scene. He was acquainted there with a lady of sweet manners, of an amiable and lively character, and blest with all the agreeable qualities of her age and sex. He went to visit her once on a Good Friday: her countenance and deportment displayed an air of cheerfulness, and she was dressed in a beautiful white robe. He asks her the reason of this extraordinary appearance on a day of mourning and penitence. "You will soon know it," said she. At this moment the flagellants were to pass her house. She waited for them with every mark of impatience. At last they appear. She approaches the window, which was on the ground floor, and next the street. The flagellants stop before her, and lash themselves. In an instant she is besprinkled with drops of blood from their bodies, and appears delighted at seeing her garments wetted with this horrid dew. The ænigma of her white robe was now explained to the spectator. I will suppose, if you please, that gallantry played a part in this pious

work of penitence, and that the lover of the young lady was amongst the actors. But does not the scene appear the more atrociously absurd on that account?

These are some samples of Spanish devotion. It is not carried all over the kingdom to such mad excess. The enlightened Spaniards, who increase every day, sigh to see it still deeply rooted. In the latter days of the pious Charles III, attempts were made with success to produce some salutary reforms.

Even at Madrid a great number of their processions, called *rosarios*, are suppressed: these almost at every hour in the day used to cross the city in every direction, on their way from one church to another, chanting the most unintelligible psalmody;—ceremonies not only without use in the eye of sound religion, but having no other effect than to fatigue the passers-by, to draw the workmen from their shops, and mothers of families from their domestic employment.

Defiance is bid to the court of Rome whenever she would encroach on the rights of the temporal authority.

The estates of the clergy are no longer considered as inviolable.

The disorderly conduct of the lower clergy and of the monks is blamed without scruple; and strict measures are taken to restrain them.

It is moreover extensively felt, that the regene-

nation of Spain depends on the diminution of the vast number of convents.

These are the steps taken in Spain towards the purifying of religion.

On the other hand (for I have promised to tell all) the Spaniards still entertain a respect for the most obscure ecclesiastics; which must appear contemptible in the eyes of the most sincere Christian in any other country.

In almost every house in Spain you meet either priests or monks; and they are regarded as a shield against the anger of God and even of men. When I passed through Valencia in 1799, at the time when our nation was an object of animosity, some French ladies of my acquaintance owed their preservation entirely to the intercession of some priests who came to their assistance.

When they are met in the streets, the people form a line, and give them the wall: and every body, of whatever rank, on approaching them, respectfully kisses either their hands or the sleeve of their venerable robe; and this act of Christian humility is received with sufficient arrogance. I shall range the following particulars not amongst the acts of superstition, but amongst the testimonies of devotion, which will be thought singular by others than *free-thinkers*.

In Spain, if a gentleman in his carriage meets a priest on foot, carrying the host, he gets out and offers him his place. This he does not fail to

accept: and the gentleman, let the weather be as it will, however he may be dressed, whether for court or for a ball, or his business ever so pressing, walks slowly by the side of the coach, accompanying the priest to the house of the sick person. There he waits till the functions of the priest are finished; and then escorts him again, still *on foot*, to the church from whence he came. Not till then does he resume his station. Sometimes the priest, of himself, when he sees a carriage stop at a door, takes it without ceremony; and when the owner appears he is shown the direction in which it went, and he may either wait its return or follow it, as he pleases. The pious orthodox are pleased with these trifling inconveniences; and even those who, for some cause or other, are not of their opinion, wisely keep from murmuring.

When the holy sacrament is carried any where, a little bell announces its approach. Immediately all business, all entertainment, all pleasure, is suspended; and every one continues on his knees till it is past. Even Protestants, who look upon this homage as a species of idolatry, have much ado to dispense with it. So far there is nothing more than what is conformable to the faith and doctrine of the catholic religion; but when the ludicrous appears, it is, as I have seen more than once at Madrid, when the Host passes a play house. As soon as the little bell is heard, the play is instantly stopped. Spectators and

actors, whatever their parts, Moors, Jews, and even Devils *, all without exception turn towards the door that leads to the street, and, kneeling, remain in that position as long as the bell can be heard; and it requires not a little self-command to check an inclination for laughter.

Another custom which must appear singular to an observer, even if he is himself a catholic, is to see on certain days notice fixed on the churches to this effect: *Oy se saca animas:* "Today souls are released from purgatory." On the eve and the day of All-Souls, this delivery is universally announced with the most doleful pomp. The churches are hung with black. The tombs are opened. A coffin, covered with black, and surrounded with wax lights, is placed in the nave of the church; and in one corner, figures in wood representing the souls of the deceased are half way plunged into the flames. To succeed in drawing from purgatory those for whom they interest themselves, they pray a long time with great fervour; and passing afterward rapidly from these charitable funereal employments to every worldly recrea-

* I do not exaggerate: One day during the performance of the play called *The devil turned preacher*, a very whimsical piece, where the devil is introduced into a convent in the dress of a monk, the Sacrament passed just at the time the pretended monk was on the stage, and he was obliged to kneel as well as the others; which of course stopped the performance for some minutes.

tion, the day is finished by a jovial banquet, the principal dish of which is called *trépassés*, a kind of cake made of flour, butter, and aniseed.

In almost every catholic country these customs prevail, and tend to cast a ridicule upon devotion: but in none, except perhaps in Italy, are they so frequent and universal as in Spain.

Without being charged with impiety, or even philosophy, (which with certain people are synonymous,) I believe a man may avow that the custom observed at the door of the church of St. Anthony, on the day of his festival, of driving horses and mules in great solemnity to partake of a small quantity of oats, which a priest has sanctified by his benediction, and which is to preserve these beasts from sickness all the year, is not sound religion.

Preserving all due respect for the catholic religion, one cannot but be surprised at the strange inconsistency of those who profess it, at the little conformity there is in their lives and actions with their religious ceremonies. This contradiction is extremely general in Spain, and few classes of people are exempt from it. I shall not speak of the coachmen, who when they mount their box cross themselves, and mutter a few prayers, which are instantly followed by those energetic phrases with which they animate the ardour of their horses. But I will mention their masters, who, for their part, repeat an anthem almost always to

the Virgin, even when they are going to pay very profane visits. Shall I add what I have heard from some wags, whose veracity however I will by no means answer for,—that if they meet a rival in a cowl, on the staircase, they ask of him absolution beforehand for the same kind of sin which he himself, to his great regret, is going to commit.

The monkish habit is so respected that a preservative virtue is attributed to it, even beyond this life, whatever irregularities may have been committed under it. Nothing is more common than to see the dead buried in a friar's dress, and conducted in this manner with their face uncovered, which is almost the general custom in Spain. The Franciscan habit is the object of a marked predilection in the devotion of the deceased. The convents of this order have a special warehouse appropriated to this posthumous wardrobe. There is such a sale of these habits, that a stranger, who was only a few months at Madrid, without being informed of this singular custom, and seeing nothing but Franciscans interred, expressed to me his surprise at the prodigious number of them in that city, and asked me seriously, if their community, whatever their number, were not entirely carried off by this violent epidemic.

In the same manner that the monkish habit accompanies some to the grave, it rises with others from the cradle. It is not uncommon to see gamboling in the streets, little monks of the age

of four or five years. Sometimes the parents, whose whimsical vow they thus expiate, take the liberty of exercising their paternal severity on this holy robe: but that is perhaps the only outrage the habit receives in Spain; and these innocent creatures are the only monks who submit to the austerities of penance.

Besides this a certificate of confession is required from every faithful catholic, native as well as stranger, which must prove that he has observed the precepts of the church during Lent*; a very idle measure, because it is so very easy to procure them without accomplishing the formalities they require; because they are sold in the market like all other articles; because the *filles de joie* (who have numerous correspondents) have always to sell again to the bearer, those they have obtained *gratis*, it is easily guessed how.

One of the most familiar gestures of the Spaniards is the sign of the cross. It is even their

* The anonymous author of *A new journey through Spain*, published in 1805, denies that such a custom exists. M. Fischer, who wrote on Spain in 1802, asserts that it is still in full practice. To make these two authors, who appear to have seen with their own eyes, agree, it should be taken for granted that the obligation of exhibiting the certificates of confession exists still, but that for some years past it is less severely insisted on, because wisdom has profited from the lessons of experience.

manner of expressing their surprise whenever they hear any thing extraordinary, pronouncing at the same time the name of *Jesus*. At each flash of lightning they repeat this sign; and even cross their mouth with their thumb when they gape: every step they take, it may be said, is marked with a grimace of devotion.

When you enter a house, unless you wish to be considered as impious, or, what is still worse, a heretic, you must begin with these words, *Ave Maria purissima*; to which you will certainly receive this answer, *sin pecado concebida*. There is still fixed every year at the church doors, the *index*, or the list of those books, especially foreign, of which the Holy Office has thought proper to interdict the reading on pain of excommunication. But many of them certainly have not sufficient merit to deserve this proscription. What respect can we have for the thunder of the church, when it is hurled only by caprice or ignorance? Can the impious, or, if you please, the philosophers, wish for any other means to render it contemptible?

Finally, that tribunal, secretly appreciated by a good number of wise men in the country, the Inquisition, is still honourably received by a great part of the nation. It has still its tremendous forms, its *familiers*, even in the most exalted classes, and sometimes its victims, &c. &c. &c.

Let us be just, at the hazard of wounding the pride of those who are too ticklish, and desire nothing but praise without restriction, and declare without calumny that Spain is still the birth-place of mummery, and the land of fanaticism and superstition.

CHAPTER XI.

Continuation of the portrait of the Spaniards. Their courage. Remains of barbarism. Patience. Sobriety. Portrait of the Women. Dissoluteness of their manners, and its causes.

WE have seen the influence of the character and education of the modern Spaniards on their religion. Let us now observe how it acts upon their courage.

The causes which formerly kept it in a state of activity have disappeared. It is a long time since there were any Moors in their neighbourhood, who were the constant food of their courage; the motives of their hatred, their jealousy, and their fanaticism increased its ardour. If it does not appear in the same degree of fermentation as it was then, if it appears to sleep, it may rouse; and indeed it does awake at the least signal. The fits of fury which were called *holy*, are become infinitely more rare. The time when it was fired by the mere name of Infidel; the age of the *Pizarros* and the *Almagros* is gone by with the Spaniards. Religious intolerance, if not entirely corrected among them, has borne for some time

at least more the stamp of ridicule than the appearance of atrocity; and in their wars with the Mussulmen they fight the enemies of their country rather than the enemies of their religion.

They begin even to feel that religion may suffer a government to treat as useful neighbours those that were formerly looked upon as irreconcileable enemies. In Spain, as else where, reason, the progress of mind, and philosophy well understood, though slow, have sensibly softened their manners. The remains of ancient barbarism disappear one after another.

Formerly assassinations were more common in Spain than at present. Every man of any consequence had assassins in his pay. They were let out to hire in the kingdom of Valencia, in the same manner as it is pretended that we not long ago hired witnesses in some of our provinces. This disgraceful custom was chiefly owing to the kind of arms that were worn. It was a three-edged poniard, which, hidden under the cloak, was drawn on the first moment of an affront; its stab was more dangerous than that of the sword, which cannot be used privately, and the management of which requires some dexterity, and is even more dangerous than the common poniard called *rejon*. The use of these weapons of perfidy is not yet quite abolished, and justifies one of the accusations with which the character of the Spaniards continues to be blackened.

It is very difficult to correct the morals or even the manners of a people by violent and sudden means. The minister Squilaci made, it is said, forty years ago, under the eyes of Charles III, the difficult experiment. The long cloaks and the flapped hats (*sombreros chambergos*), a costume in which it was difficult to recognise your best friend, favoured all sorts of disorders, particularly those which endangered the safety of the citizen. To proscribe them, he had recourse to coercive laws, and even to acts. His satellites were stationed in the cross-ways, and, being provided with scissars, curtailed the cloaks of all those who exceeded the prescribed length. He, being a stranger, and the minister of a sovereign who had passed a great part of his life out of Spain, expected to find the Castillians as manageable as Peter the Great had found the Russians. But what happened? The people resisted his proceedings. The king began to be afraid; and the minister was put to death. The costume, so rudely attacked, out-lived him some time:—but more slow and lenient measures (the example of the court and those belonging to it, and the activity of a vigilant police,) have greatly diminished these inconveniences. The flapped hats, which encouraged both insult and crimes, by ensuring their impunity, have entirely disappeared in the capital; and the cloak, a dress very convenient for those who know how to use it, no longer encourages laziness.

With respect to the use of the fatal poniard, it exists still in some parts of Spain, but only amongst the inferior classes of the people. There are still some bullies who make use of it to frighten the timorous; and some violent men, to whom it is a ready instrument of vengeance. The ecclesiastics have employed the arguments of charity and peace to make their congregations discard them. The last archbishop of Granada, in particular, was very successful by means of his preaching. But these measures have not been so efficacious every where. The kingdom of Valencia, the country most favoured by Heaven, where it should seem that beauty of climate and the goodness of nature would excite none but the softer passions, is sullied by frequent murders. One of the prerogatives of the crown is, that the king can every year pardon one criminal condemned to death, if there is the least thing in his favour. But it has been remarked that, in the list presented to the king by the assembly of Valencia, for the last seven years, there has not been a single criminal condemned, whose case was at all pardonable; so much premeditated atrocity was observed in their crimes.

The poniard and the assassin are still pretty common in Andalusia: and it is there verified how powerful the influence of the climate is when not counter-balanced by moral remedies. During the summer a certain easterly wind (called *le*

vent de médine) occasions a kind of phrensy, which renders these excesses much more frequent than at any other time of the year.

But let the natural face of Spain be changed; let canals and roads be made through those of her cantons which are at present inaccessible; let more easy communications render the inspection of the agents of government more quick and more certain; let the progress of agriculture, of industry and trade give occupation to mischievous idleness;—in short, let the plan of the present government continue to be executed, and the influence of climate will give way in this respect, as well as in others, to these powerful causes.

The revolutions which have happened in their manners within the last sixty years, justify this prognostication. It was only during the last century that two customs, which reason and humanity had a long time proscribed, began to become less common: I mean the *rondalla* and the *pedreades*.

The *rondalla* is a species of defiance shown to one another by two troops of itinerant musicians. Without any other motive than to prove their courage, they present one another with fire-arms, and swords; each side begins with firing, and they then have recourse to their swords. Will it be believed that this custom still exists in Navarre and in Arragon; and that a similar defiance took place in the month of August 1792, between two parishes near the town of Saragossa?

The custom of the *pedreades* has only lately disappeared. This was also a kind of combat between two troops armed with slings, who attacked and overwhelmed one another with stones.

Such manners seem equally to accuse those that keep them alive and the government that tolerates them. There are, however, some reasonable people who lament similar institutions, but who pretend that, if they bear the marks of a little barbarism, they also put their courage to the proof and nourish it. The lovers of paradox even go so far as to regret the reformation which the work of Cervantes has produced in the Spanish manners, by throwing an indelible ridicule on those silly, but brave and generous, adventurers, who face every danger, and who offer gratuitously their assistance to the weak, the unfortunate, and the fair. In vain was it objected to them, that the institution of knight-errantry is at least useless in a country where charity and the police watch over the safety of these three classes of society. They reply; "Yes, if you are without trouble-"some neighbours, or if you are secluded from "the world, you may, in polishing and refining "the manners, give yourself up with safety to all "the emotions of humanity, to the tranquil enjoy-"ment of the arts and of pleasures; but if you "are destined to brave the fury of the elements "and of death in battle, is not an education "which early familiarises you with danger and

"with sufferings, an inestimable treasure! Would "a nation long remain free from the yoke of "despotism, and independent of her neighbours, "if its members were to renounce every military "exercise for the scenery of the opera; or ex- "change feats of pugilism for the dance? He "would perhaps see her population and her opu- "lence extend infinitely into the bosom of the arts "of peace. She might levy and maintain as "innumerable and brilliant armies as Xerxes and "Darius. But would she have her Leonidas and "her Miltiades?"

However this may be, we can further give as a proof of the modern reformation upon the morals of the Spaniards, the rarity of duelling. Formerly, the nicest point of honour carried to excess occasioned amongst them very frequent duels, of which their plays and their romances bear testimony. At present, their courage, though not so soon inflamed, may still serve in time of war for the defence of their country, without interrupting its tranquillity in time of peace;—and during the space of nearly ten years residence in Spain, I have not heard of one fatal duel having taken place; and very rarely indeed of any rencontres.

On the other hand, the Spaniards have preserved even to this day many of their ancient virtues; and particularly patience and sobriety. The one makes them hardy in their enterprises and indefatigable in their occupations; the other

shields them from the excesses so very common among the other nations of Europe. Without wishing to detract from the first of these virtues, I would say that they are indebted for it to their natural constitution and to the quality of their food. Their robust and nervous bodies, dried and hardened by a hot climate, can better support the privation and superabundance of food. The flesh of animals, at least in the middle provinces of Spain, contains more nourishment than elsewhere. Their vegetables, being less spongy than in other countries, where water contributes more to their growth than the sun, also contain more nourishment. The foreigners who settle in Madrid very soon perceive this; and if they were fully to satisfy the appetite which they bring with them, they would soon be convinced, (by a very painful disease, called *extripado*, a kind of colic which the physicians of this country alone can cure,) that they have changed both food and climate.

With respect to intoxicating liquors;—The sobriety of the Spaniards is also owing in a great measure to Nature, which, always making use of means proportioned to the end required, has given them a constitution analogous to the strength of their wine, which their land produces; whilst foreigners do not with impunity gratify their taste to excess. I have known repeated and striking examples of it. I have seen seven or eight domestics which our ambassador count Montmo-

in had brought with him, who drank the wine of La Mancha as freely as they would the light wines of France, miserably perish in less than six years. They were almost constantly in a state of intoxication, and their decay was visible to the most inattentive observer. The Spaniards, who follow the same custom, do not experience the same inconvenience. It is extremely rare to see one overcome with wine *; and if you meet a drunken soldier in the street, you may lay ten to one that he is a foreigner, and twenty to one that he is a Swiss.

Let us remark on this occasion, that sobriety is a quality belonging to the inhabitants of southern countries, and intemperance to those of the northern ones. Let us also remark, that those liquors which they drink to excess are not the productions of their own country:—as if Nature, who has given them sufficient food and drink, and furnished them with organs adapted to the means of procuring it, was determined to punish those who bring such articles from another country,

* I still maintain this assertion; whatever a German writer, who has travelled in Spain more recently than I, and who pretends to have met with many drinkards, may say. A Spaniard, speaking to me lately on this subject, said; This accusation comes from a German, who wishes to exaggerate this failing among the Spaniards, in order to excuse his own countrymen. I do not adopt this recrimination, but I persist in my statement.

that were intended for the use of that particular people. This is perhaps sometimes prevented by certain circumstances; but an attentive observer will easily find examples to convince him of its truth.

The Spaniards will pardon me for ascribing to their climate the virtue of sobriety (which is so unanimously granted to them). Is it not comparing them to other nations, and even to every individual of the human species, who owe their qualities, equally to their education, their station, their habits, to example, and to a thousand other causes which do not depend upon themselves? And is it not also a great merit that they have profited by these benign influences?

The Spaniards may at least boast of having triumphed over that influence which carried them to a certain excess, and which might have served for their excuse. I have particularly in view, a depraved taste, repugnant to nature, injurious to the fair sex, and too common among the inhabitants of southern countries. This base passion is entirely unknown in Spain. Jealousy, another outrage against that sex which is the object of our homage, seems also to depend on the influence of a climate which communicates its ardour both to the senses and the imagination. This odious passion, once so offensive in its suspicions, so injurious and cruel in its precautions, and implacable in its resentment, is now much

weakened among the modern Spaniards. If in Spain the lovers are tormented with suspicion, and sometimes too severe in their vengeance, there is no country in Europe that can boast of so few jealous husbands. The women, who were formerly deprived of all intercourse, who could hardly be seen through the grates of their windows, (which certainly owe their name to the vile sentiment of him who invented them)—these women now enjoy perfect liberty. Their veils (*mantillas*), the only remains of their ancient slavery, now serve no other purpose than to defend them against the sun, and to render them more attractive. A tissue at first invented by jealousy now belies its intention. Coquetry has made it one of its most seducing articles of dress; and, in favouring half-concealment, has indirectly encouraged the stolen glances of love. Those lovers, who breathed the tale of their disconsolate sufferings under the balcony of their invisible mistresses, and had no other witness or interpreter than their guitar, are now only to be found in plays and romances. Conquests are become less cruel and less dilatory, the husbands are become more tractable, the women more accessible.

Woman!—Who is there that does not feel a lively interest in this word? Who is not disposed to pardon their caprices; to submit to their raillery, and to indulge them in their foibles? Do not all of you, particularly ye foreigners, who have

sighed at the feet of a Spanish lady—When thinking of your chain, do you not approve of all these sentiments? Shall I endeavour to draw a feeble sketch of the object of your adoration, in order to retrace your pleasures? Or, if you have been separated from them by absence, by time, or by inconstancy, which sometimes renders them still dearer in your estimation;—shall I endeavour to mix a little sweetness with the bitterness of your regrets?

Women in every country have some peculiar attractions which characterize them. In England, you are charmed by the elegance of their shape and the modesty of their behaviour; in Germany, by their rosy lips and the sweetness of their smiles; in France, by that amiable vivacity which animates all their features. The sensation which you experience at the approach of a handsome Spanish lady has something so bewitching that it baffles description. Her coquetry is more open and less restrained than that of other women. She cares little about pleasing the world in general. She esteems its approbation much more than she courts it; and is perfectly contented with one, if it be the object of her choice. If she neglects nothing which is likely to carry her point, at least she disdains affectation, and owes very little to the assistance of her toilet. The complexion of a Spanish woman never borrows any assistance from art. Art never furnishes her with a colour which

Nature has denied to her by placing her under the influence of a burning sun. But with how many charms is she not endowed, as a compensation for her paleness! Where can you find such fine shapes as theirs; such graceful movements, such delicacy of features, and such lightness of carriage? Grave, and sometimes at first sight even a little melancholy, when she casts upon you her large black eyes full of expression, and when she accompanies them with a tender smile, insensibility itself must fall at her feet. But if the coldness of her behaviour does not hinder you from paying your addresses to her, she is as decided and mortifying in her disdain as she is seducing when she permits you to hope. In this last case she does not suffer you to be long in suspense, but perséverance must be followed by happiness; and this line from a well known poem,

Nourri par l'espérance, il meurt par les plaisirs,

cannot be applied to a Spanish lady.

Perseverance is, without doubt, pleasure with a Spanish woman; but is at the same time a vigorous and slavish duty. Love, even when crowned with success, requires that you belong to her alone. The man who has enlisted under her banners, must sacrifice to her all his affections, all his desires, and all his time. He is condemned, not to languor, but to idleness. Those happy mortals whom the Spanish women deign to subdue, and

are named *cortejos*, are less disinterested, but are not less assiduous, than the Italian *cicisbeos*. They must be ready to prove their devotion every hour of the day; to accompany their beloved to the promenade, to the theatre, and even to the confessional. More than one tempest disturbs the serenity of such an union; the slightest incident produces alarm; and a transient wavering is punished like infidelity. It may be said, that in Spain jealousy has fled from Hymen to take refuge in the bosom of Love; and that it belongs more particularly to that sex which seems made rather to inspire than to experience it.

To be brief. The bonds of a handsome Spanish woman are less pleasant to support than difficult to avoid. Their caprices, the natural offspring of a lively imagination, are sometimes obstinate and unruly. But it is not easy to reconcile with these transient humours the constancy of most of the Spanish women in their attachments. The infatuation which they occasion and which they experience, so different from all extreme situations that do not last long, is often prolonged much beyond the ordinary time; and I have seen in this land of ardent passions more than one lover die of old age. May not this apparent contradiction be accounted for from their religious scruples, ill understood as they almost always are? The conscience of a Spanish woman, though complaisant enough to permit one only choice at which her

duty murmurs, would it not be frightened with a succession of infidelities? Does she find for the first an excuse in her frailty, and in the irresistible vow of her heart, that draws her to the only object which Nature designed for her? Or does she find in succeeding attachments the sin appear again in all its ugliness? This is another ænigma to explain in the Spanish women. They reconcile their inconsistency in morals with the minute observance of religious duties. In many countries these excesses succeed one another alternately. In Spain they are inseparable, as well among the men as the women. In this association of the most incoherent things, their object seems to be not to prevent scandal or to change their conduct, but to make a kind of compensation for their faults.

I have known many men in Spain who frequented the churches with an assiduity which even true Christians might regard as a rigorous obligation; who kept strictly the laws of the church concerning fasts; who rendered to their priests the most humble homage;—and who, notwithstanding, led dissolute lives.

I have known many women, abandoned to an attachment which their duty disproves, surrounded with relics and scapularies, bind themselves by the most insignificant vows, and fulfil them with scrupulosity.

I believe that hypocrites, the true *Tartuffes*, are rare in Spain; but this fantastic association of in

morality with superstitious practices is more common in Spain than elsewhere. Must we attribute this to the want of civilisation, or to the criminal complaisance of the directors of conscience, who are lavish of the indulgences which they themselves stand in need of? Or does the climate, which must also serve as an excuse for some vices, command too imperiously certain weaknesses of conscience, scrupulous enough in other respects, to be frightened from them?

Endeavouring to explain the dissoluteness of morals, is to own their existence. Yes, in this respect depravity knows no bounds. It infects all classes of society, and even those whom one would expect at least to have the appearance of shame, the impetuosity of desires leads even to effrontery; and it is not rare to receive advances from that sex destined by Nature not to provoke but to await them. Too often you have little reason to be satisfied with this good fortune. How often does one revolt at those easily obtained pleasures, and even those granted with some trouble! How many victims does not incontinence produce! She punishes not only the guilty, but too often the innocent suffer from the dreadful consequences. That horrible gift which the New World has given to the Old, is become in Spain the patrimony of whole families, and the degeneration of a great number of illustrious races is strikingly visible.

This plague, which seems to have become very common here, is of most dangerous consequence to those who have been born in another climate; and though a thousand charms and attractions incite, a prudent foreigner will hesitate before he bends his neck to this dreadful yoke.

This depravity is, however, not so general as the libertine would insinuate. There are, indeed, in Madrid many exemplary families, faithful spouses, and women that might be quoted as models of reserve and decorum. The younger females, though less reserved in their behaviour, grant much less than their exterior promises, and it is very seldom that they anticipate marriage. If opportunities of buying those shameful and easy pleasures are frequent for those who seek after them, prostitution is by no means so public and barefaced as in other countries. The police, which proscribes this scandalous intercourse with severity, obliges it to hide itself, and it is even often followed to its secret recesses. And, what is very singular in a country where dissolut manners are so common, and where there are so many rich loungers, you will in vain look for one of those courtezans that in other countries parade about with the wages of their shame. Amongst the great personages, although they enjoy the utmost gratification that opulence can procure them, there is still a kind of decency presiding over their

irregularities; and secrecy accompanies the most disgraceful amours.

The austerity of all the kings of the new dynasty can alone account for this modern singularity. At their court it was necessary to conceal those weaknesses which were not excused by their example; to be suspected would have been great imprudence, and to make them public the height of temerity. Charles III was on this head even almost tyrannical. I have seen one of the most eminent grandees of his court impeach before this prince his own son, who had suffered himself to be seduced by a pretty actress; and obtained from him that the lover should be shut up in a castle, and the mistress in a house of correction: but all the young lords at the court of Spain have not such rigorous fathers; nor do all the actresses atone in the same manner for the passions they inspire.

I must still add, for the honour of the fair sex in Spain, that the women banish from their society all those familiarities which are esteemed innocent in countries where the senses are less apt to be inflamed; and this distrust of themselves is at least a homage which their weaknesses offer up at the altar of modesty:—for instance, they will not suffer in public the most innocent salute, and those liberties which some of our comedians exhibit without any scruple to the eyes of the spec-

tators are rigorously banished from the Spanish stage.*

But provided you do not approach them too near, they suffer and sometimes even provoke those enticements which decency startles at. Double entendres, paintings by the most indelicate pencil, even obscenities, and every loose expression, they easily pardon. I have heard them hold such discourse as few men, though not very scrupulous, would make use of at their most dissolute banquets, and have heard them sing some

* I observed in one of the theatres of the metropolis, some years ago, a singular instance, which, though trivial in itself, I can hardly confine to a note, but which displays an instance of excessive delicacy, joined to morals that are often vulgar and sometimes disgusting. There is not a traveller who, in crossing Spain, particularly Castille, has not observed groups of the lower class of people, who, sitting in the sun, awaken from their laziness in order to clear themselves of their vermin. Among lovers of this class it is a piece of gallantry which both enjoy. Taking this for granted, our little opera of the *Tonnelier* having been translated into Spanish, the scrupulous translator would not venture to hazard the stolen kiss which brings about the denouement. But what does he substitute in its stead? In the interesting scene where the master cooper is busy in the inside of the tub, the journeyman enters slyly, and sits down between the legs of the ingenious Fanchette; who with her delicate fingers clears his head of the vermin. It is in this situation of expressive familiarity, whilst the two lovers are giving one another this unequivocal pledge of their love, that they are surprised by the old man.

of the most indecent songs imaginable; I have been more than once shocked at the abominable stories of some *women of the town*. I have heard them relate without blushing, and without any reserve, the most secret details of their amorous scenes; and they were astonished that their auditors should discover any embarrassment.

These traits only, which I would not have the injustice to place to the account of all the Spanish fair sex, are not, however, sufficient to prove the depravity of morals in Spain. The women who suffer others and who themselves hold these free discourses, are neither for that more seductive nor more easy to seduce. It has been besides observed, that a nation not yet perfectly civilized, may very well, without being corrupted, have in their language a species of naïveté which renders their expressions less chaste; and I am tempted to believe that these manners, which shock decency so much in other people, would disappear with a more refined civilization, and by more care in education. But what can be expected when the young people are left entirely to the management of servants, even in families of distinction? Can they for any time preserve in their thoughts and in their discourse that virgin purity, the principal charm of their sex, when, from the tenderest age, they familiarise themselves with the most vulgar expressions; and when they see the most indecent

wit applauded at the theatre; particularly when love, which occupies their mothers' whole time, scarcely leaves a minute to watch them; when, finally, ignorance and idleness leave to plays and romances the care of forming their heart and improving their mind? Ye who are to become mothers of families, how ill do you understand, or rather how ill do others understand, your interest! Some taste for employment, some care bestowed on the development of those dispositions Heaven hath showered in plenty upon you, would make you the most happy as well as the most bewitching creatures. You are neglected; you are left to yourselves and those who corrupt you. Listlessness and its concomitants surround you. You will, to your misfortune and our despair, disappoint the intention of Nature.

The character and manners of a people would be imperfectly known if they were only seen in their serious occupations and under the empire of passion. They show themselves better in their festivals, their games, and their taste. We shall endeavour to delineate the Spaniards under these different heads.

CHAPTER XII.

Manners and customs of the Spaniards. Their dances. Their games. Their pleasures. Their meals. Their taste.

NOTHING forms a stronger contrast to the gravity of the Spaniards than their favourite dance the *fandango*, a truly national dance, full of expression, at which foreigners that are a little scrupulous are at first shocked, but soon become enchanted with it.

As soon as the *fandango* is struck up by the musicians at a ball, all faces begin to be animated, and the spectators, if even their age condemns them to a state of immobility, have great difficulty to keep from falling in. A very ingenious apologue has been formed, to give an idea of its irresistible fascination.

It is related that the court of Rome, scandalized that a country so renowned for the purity of its faith had not long ago proscribed such a profane dance, resolved to pronounce the solemn condemnation of it. A consistory was formed; the cause of the *fandango* was tried according to all the rules of law. Sentence was going to be pronounced, when one of the judges very judiciously

observed, that a criminal ought not to be condemned without being seen and heard. The observation was approved; and a Spanish couple was introduced, who to the sound of instruments displayed all the graces of the *fandango*. The severity of the judges was not proof against this trial; the austerity in their faces soon began to disappear; they got up, their knees and arms recovered their juvenile suppleness; the hall of the consistory is transformed into a dancing-room, and the *fandango* is acquitted.

After such a triumph, it may well be imagined that any claim advanced by decency will be laughed at. The reign of *fandango* is now established. He changes his character, however, according to the place where he is introduced. The audience sometimes ask for him on the stage, and he closes almost every private ball. At these times he confines himself to a slight expression of his meaning; but under other circumstances, where a small number of spectators in good humour are inclined to dispense with scruples, his meaning is pronounced in such a manner, that voluptuousness seizes the very soul; his sting penetrates the heart of the most modest youth, and reanimates the blunted senses of old age. The *fandango* is danced only by two people, who never touch one another, not even with their hands; but to see them provoke one another, by turns retreating to a distance, and advancing closely again; to see

how the woman, at the moment when her languor indicates a near defeat, revives all at once to escape her pursuer; how she is pursued, and in her turn pursues him; how the different emotions which they feel are expressed by their looks, their gestures, and their attitudes,—you cannot help observing, with a blush, that these scenes are to the engagements of Cytherea, what our military evolutions are in time of peace to the true display of the art of war.

There is in Spain a dance still more voluptuous if possible than the *fandango*, but it belongs rather to the provinces than the capital; it is called the *volero*. Andalusia is its native country: as it seems invented particularly for the Andalusians of both sexes; a remnant of decency has banished it almost entirely from private balls, but it is danced still often enough on the stage *.

* A German traveller, (M. Fischer,) who has lately published a work on Spain, in which he modestly professes to have done nothing but glean after me, and wherein we find many pictures the colouring of which is very warm, but their likeness striking, describes the *volero*, which he saw on the stage of Cadiz, in this manner:

"When the play is over, the stage changes into a handsome "saloon. The orchestra begins to play again: castanets are "heard, and from each side of the stage a male and female "dancer make their appearance, both dressed in the Andalu-"sian costume, which belongs to the dance. They fly to a "mutual rencontre as if they had been seeking one another. "The man spreads his amorous arms to the woman, who is

A third dance belonging to the Spaniards is that of the *seguidillas*. They are danced with eight, like our cotillons; at each corner the four couple describe, but only *en passant*, the principal traits of the *fandango*. It is here that a Spanish

"going to fly into them; but all at once she turns about and "escapes him. The man, half angry, revenges himself, and "flees in his turn. The orchestra makes a pause, the couple "stop as if undetermined; but the music soon puts them in "motion again.

"From henceforward the man expresses his desires with in- "creasing vivacity. The woman seems more inclined to "favour them. A more voluptuous languor is painted in her "eyes, her bosom beats with more violence, her arms extend "to the object who solicits her; but a new tormenting accident "robs him of her a second time:—a fresh pause reanimates "them again.

"The music of the orchestra rises and falls; it takes wings "to follow their steps. Full of desire, the man darts again "before his partner. The same sentiment actuates her. They "devour one another with their eyes; their lips begin to "open; but she is still feebly kept back by the small remains "of shame.

"The elevation of the music increases, and with it the vi- "vacity of their movements. A kind of vertigo, the intoxi- "cation of voluptuousness, seems to have subdued them both; "all their muscles demand and express pleasure; their sight "seems confused. All at once the music stops; the dancers "retire in soft languor; the curtain drops, and the spectators "awaken again."

Such an animated description is rather an apology than a satire; it is, however, exact. Some years ago the *volero* was danced on the stage at Paris; but decency had softened the colours, and pleasure did not wish them more warm.

woman, dressed in her costume, accompanying the music with her castanets, and beating time with her heel with exact precision, becomes one of the most enchanting objects which love can employ to enlarge his empire.

Private balls are very general throughout Spain. They have a kind of president, who, under the name of *bastonero*, watches over good order in the midst of pleasure. He has the care of ordering the minuets, and of matching partners in such a manner as to render as many happy, and as few otherwise, as possible.

With respect to public balls and masquerades, they have been totally prohibited since the reign of Philip V. M. d'Aranda endeavoured to revive them at Madrid; but they did not survive his administration.

The people have some particular games, which relax their usual gravity a little. One is a feeble and dull representation of those wherein the strength and agility of the ancients were kept in continual exercise. It consists in throwing with a vigorous arm a bar of iron to a certain distance, and for that reason is called *el juego de la barra*.

Another game, much liked by the people, but still more insipid, is known as well in Italy as in Spain. Several men sitting in a circle hold up in their turn two, four, six or ten fingers, and rapidly call aloud the exact number held up.

The people called *bon ton* have recreations of

another kind. In the circles of idleness their principal relaxation, as elsewhere, is cards, particularly the game of *ombre*, which originally came from Spain, as its name denotes, but which they now call *tresillo*; chess, and a kind of billiards called *juego de trucos*.

In general, they seldom meet to eat together. The innocent and healthy pleasures of a country ramble are almost entirely unknown to them. Even the chase has few admirers, at least near the capital. The monarch and his family seem to have the exclusive privilege of it. A country life has no attractions with a Spaniard; and it would be very easy to count the number of their country-houses. Of the many opulent individuals in Madrid, there are scarcely ten who have any. As to castles and halls, so numerous in France, in England, and in Germany, which contribute so much to the embellishment of the environs of large cities, and where their owners pass at least the summer season, there are so few in the neighbourhood of Madrid, and in the rest of the peninsula, that many travellers have believed that from thence the expression came, *to build castles in Spain*,—as much as to say, *to live in the land of chimæras*. But this opinion is erroneous, because ancient castles, for the most part in ruins it is true, abound in almost all the provinces.

Therefore it is in the interior of the great cities that the rich citizens of the kingdom concentrate

their enjoyments. Music is one for which the Spaniards have most taste. This art is even cultivated amongst them with success, although their national music has not made much progress. If it possesses any peculiar characteristic, it is derived from the little airs which they call *tonadillas* and *seguidillas*; productions that are sometimes agreeable, but their modulation is so little varied, as to prove that the art of composition is with them still in its infancy. They, however, on the other hand, do brilliant justice to the master pieces of Germany and Italy, which are always highly welcomed in their frequent concerts. There are many amateurs, but few composers that deserve particular notice. A poet of Madrid, named *Don Thomas Yriarte*, who died a little while ago in the flower of his youth, composed about thirty years since a poem on music, where the dryness of the didactic is recompensed by some ingenious episodes and a brilliant imagination. The connoisseurs assert that the character of the Spanish music is there delineated by the hand of a master.

It is not only for the sake of dancing and music that the Spaniards meet. They have also, as inducements to assembling, their *tertulias* and their *refrescos*. The *tertulias* are like our assemblies, where perhaps there reigns more liberty, but where *ennui* is often a guest as well as in our circles. The women in general endeavour very little to be

social amongst one another; each aspires to be at the head of a *tertulia*; and no doubt it is these exclusive pretensions that still banish from Spanish societies what we call French gallantry. The women are there beloved, even adored, as well as elsewhere; but when they do not inspire lively sentiments, they seldom receive that marked attention which our urbanity lavishes indistinctly on all the individuals of that amiable sex. This is not because the Spaniards have no gallantry. Their refined and high-flown traits are scattered with profusion in their romances and their plays; but in the eyes of foreigners they appear exaggerated and full of grimace when carried into practice. They have not that easy manner, those elegant expressions, which even those who are envious of us agree in acknowledging in French gallantry. With us, a pretty woman with whom we are not in love is only an amiable creature, who expects but does not insist on homage, who receives it with a smile. In Spain, if she knows how to make herself respected, she is a divinity, whom you cannot as it were approach but on your knees. An ingenious verse of a ballad is sufficient for the first; but the other requires the sublime accent and cadence of the ode.

The *refrescos*, invented by luxury and fastidious squeamishness, do not contribute in Spain, any more than the *tertulias*, to increase the intercourse of the sexes. In the course of the year,

they are nothing but some light collations, to which persons with whom you interchange visits are invited, and serve as a prelude to the *tertulias*. But on solemn occasions, such, for instance, as celebrating a marriage, a christening, or the birth-day of the master of the house, the *refresco* is a very important and expensive affair. All their acquaintances are invited: as they arrive, the men separate from the women. These sit in a particular room, and etiquette requires that they remain together till all the company is assembled. The mistress of the house receives them on a sofa under a canopy, placed in a particular part of the room, which was in ancient time called the *estrado*, and above it is generally suspended the image of the Virgin. At the appearance of the *refresco*, the conversation becomes lively, and the two sexes join. In the first place large glasses with water are presented round, in which are dipped little square sweet cakes, of a spongy substance, called *azucar sponjado*, or *rosado*; after that comes chocolate, a favourite beverage with the Spaniards twice a day, and which they think so wholesome, or at least so innocent, that they give it to the dying. After that arrive in profuse abundance, sweetmeats, confectionary, and dainties, of all kinds and colours. These are not only eaten on the spot, but large papers, hats, and even handkerchiefs, are filled with them. The foreigner who is for the first time admitted to this species

of meal, where intoxicating liquors are avoided, expects to find a sober nation, but is mistaken.

Dancing or some game generally follows these *refrescos*; but it is very seldom that this entertainment is succeeded by a supper. This is a very frugal meal with the Spaniards, and for which they seldom assemble. Their cookery, such as they have received it from their forefathers, is liked by very few. Their palate requires high seasoning. Pepper, pimento, the juice of the *tomates*, or love apple, saffron, &c., colour or infect almost all their dishes. A single one has found favour with foreigners, which is called in Spain *olla podrida*, and is a kind of *pôt-pourri* of all sorts of meat boiled together. The Spanish cooking is seldom plain, but with obscure families who are attached to ancient customs. Almost every where it is connected with ours, and in many houses entirely supplanted by it.

Thus it is that we are universally imitated, even to the rendering us ridiculous. Our fashions, for instance, have been adopted in Spain as elsewhere. Our dresses are introduced under the Spanish cloak. The veil is only exclusively worn by women of the lower sort. For the others, it serves only to hide the disorder of the toilet when they go out on foot. With this exception, their coiffure and their whole dress submit to the power of French fashion. The Spanish manufacturers endeavour to seize and follow the reigning taste, in

all its rapid variation, without foreign aid; but they have not yet carried their point. The great cities, and even the court, acknowledge it in running directly to Paris and Lyons as the true sources of fashion. In this respect, as well as in many others, the Spaniards who affect the *bon ton* do justice to the superiority of some foreign nations, and take lessons of elegance from them in more than one respect. Their tables are served in the French fashion; their cooks and valets-de-chambre are French. Our milliners decorate their wives, and form schools of good taste for their daughters, who may hope one day to succeed their instructors. The heavy and antiquated equipages disappear from time to time, and make room for English and French carriages, which for some years past are made in Madrid and even in some other great cities. Sets of horses in elegant harnesses are a growing luxury, and they neglect no opportunity to invite our mechanics, manufacturers, and artists into their country.

This homage is not confined to objects of mere frivolity, but extends to almost all the branches of literature both French and English. The Spaniards translate most books of these nations, works on morals, on the arts, history, even romances, religious books particularly; in short, every thing which orthodoxy does not forbid.

To our poetry alone it is that they annex little merit. Their imagination, bold to extravagance,

finds our conceptions cold and tame. Accustomed to exaggeration and to redundancy, they cannot appreciate the merit of fitness and precision. The fine shades depicted in our ridicule and our manners escape their eyes, that are too much accustomed to caricatures; and with respect to our style, their ears, spoiled by the brilliant prosody of their cadenced phrases, cannot relish our peculiar expressions, which speak more to the soul than the senses; and the rounding of our elegant periods is lost upon them.

One of the principal causes that will prevent Spanish literature from being reformed, is, that the models which they still admire, and which they endeavour to imitate, are distinguished by the bad taste which at that time infected all Europe, and to which our early authors paid ample tribute, but on the ruins of which have been built the masterpieces of the reign of Louis XIV, that fixed our language in an irrevocable manner. If our literature had stood still in the times of Ronsart, Marot, Benserade, Voiture, Balzac, &c., their defects even would still serve for models. What might have happened to us, if a concurrence of circumstances had not improved our literature, has happened to the Spaniards. Since their *Calderon*, *Lope de Vega*, *Quevedo*, *Rebolledo*, &c. &c., full of a brilliant and creative imagination, but irregular, no author has appeared in Spain that was gifted with such shining qualities and sagacity.

Literature has been at a stand for more than a century. Those men of genius, often very fantastical in their conceptions, continue the standard of the beautiful; and their example, without producing any thing to be compared with what is with reason admired in them*, has served and still serves to excuse the errors of wit, and the gigantic expressions of a false eloquence. These reproaches are particularly applicable to the stage.

* We shall insert below some modification of these remarks, which have been found a little too severe.

(*Note to the edition of* 1806.)

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Spanish stage. Ancient and modern comedies. Defence of the Spanish stage, and a critique on ours. Spanish versification. Actors. Modern farces. Majos *and* Gitanos.

IT would be unjust were we to appreciate the Spanish stage entirely from the critique of Boileau.

There are still, no doubt, some pieces in which the law of the three unities is outrageously violated; but in many of them not so much as to spoil all the interest. The Spaniards themselves blame most of their heroic plays, in which princes and princesses assemble from all parts of Europe without any motive or probability, and are every one in their turn either the agent or the sport of the most incredible adventures, and finish with unnecessarily spilling their blood without having even caused a tear to flow. Although many of these pieces oftentimes shine with original beauties; although they discover the rare talent of producing a complicated plot, and of finding the *denouement* even in the thread of their subject,—it is not on this account that the Spaniards praise their stage; but they have another reason

to be proud of it, and this even foreigners acknowledge. I mean their *pièces de caractères*:— these, without having the same regularity as our master pieces, or the same choiceness of thought and expression, are for the most part touching to the heart, and faithful in their pictures; and show a richness of imagination in the writers. The pieces called *de capa y espada* in particular give such an exact description of their ancient maners, that they may be studied to advantage in them. That generosity which still characterizes them, is there represented in the most lively colours; those flashes of patriotism and religious zeal which formerly made them equal to any enterprise; those sallies of national pride, the noble expression of which makes them be forgiven and almost admired; that irritability on the ticklish subjects of love and honour, which of old multiplied duels in Spain; the earnestness and devotion of hoping love; the anguish of unhappy love; the plots of thwarted love: such are the plays which the Spaniards still admire as much as when they first appeared. Their authors, amongst whom the most distinguished are *Lope de Vega*, *Roxas*, *Solis*, *Moreto*, *Arellano*, and particularly the immortal *Calderon de la Barca*, have established this taste so much by their success, that modern authors, such as *Zamora* and *Cañizares*, who wrote in the beginning of this century, dared not to stray from this walk.

The Spanish stage, however, experienced some happy changes more than twenty years ago. True tragedy without any unworthy admixture had long been a stranger; but lately they have represented some of our pieces translated more or less literally: some of our dramas, such as *Eugénie*, the *Déserteur* of Mercier, &c., have been translated quite literally; as also some of our best tragedies, such as *Andromaque*, *Zaïre*, *Mithridate*, &c.; some translated or imitated from the Italian, as *Kouli-Kan* and *Pamela* of Goldoni. A few modern authors have even produced original tragedies, and worthy of that title; that is to say, regular, and without any of those buffooneries which characterize the ancient, even the most affecting, Spanish pieces.

So long ago as 1750, one of the first members of the Academy of Language, *Don Augustin Montiano*, attempted a reform in the taste of the nation, by writing two tragedies conformable to the rules of the three unities, *Virginia*, and *Ataulfo*. They are written with purity; but whether they had only this merit, or whether the Spaniards were not ripe enough for such a reform, they have been laid aside. Some later attempts have been more successful. The elder Moratin wrote a tragedy, entitled *Hormesinda*; but the interest of the piece did not answer to the force and elegance of its style, and its success was not lasting. *Guzman el Bueno*, another tragedy of this author, the subject

of which should interest all Spaniards, as it retraces an heroic circumstance of their history, with the same merit and the same fault, has had the same fate. The *Destruction of Numantia*, by Professor Ayala, another subject fit to elevate the mind of the Spaniards, has not disappointed the hopes of its author. This tragedy recalls the most flattering recollections of national pride, and breathes patriotism in all its fervour. It still excites a lively enthusiasm on the stage. Another modern tragedy, the *Raquel* of the academician La Thuerta, a distinguished poet, who died but a few years ago, would have enjoyed the same triumph, if certain political reasons had not excluded this piece from the stage. It is well conceived, ably written, full of brilliant passages, and entirely conformable to the rules of art. Except that the winding up is bad, it would be esteemed in every country a work of the first order.

Two more modern authors, Cienfuegos, at present at the head of the foreign department, and M. Quintano, one of the principal men employed in the commercial council, have written with more or less success, the first three regular tragedies, *Idomenée*, the *Condesa de Castilla*, and *Zoraïdo*; the other, two, *El Duque de Visco*, and *Pelayo*. Both have decided talents for poetry, as the collection of their works proves* ; but they are thought

* MM. Cienfuegos and Quintano are not the only writers who do honour to the Spanish Muses as poets. Besides the dra-

to excel more in lyrics than in the difficult art of writing tragedies. We shall pass over in silence some other less fortunate attempts, which all concur to prove the tendency of Spanish genius to form itself on good models.

The same revolution has happened in the department of Thalia. That which we call the *comédie noble* has been attempted on the Spanish stage. *Le Misantrope*, for example, appeared there, and was well received. Some of their own authors have even ventured on comedies, in which spirit and good taste are united with beauty of style. Don Thomas Yriarte, known already by his literary fables, and his poem on music, though he has not excited a very lively interest, has made us smile at the representation of his two pretty comedies, *El Senorito mimado*, The Spoilt Child, and *La Senorita mal criada*, The Girl ill brought up. M. Moratin the younger, son to the tragic writer, a poet of true talents, and whose travels to the principal cities of Europe have extended his knowledge and improved his taste, has written, in the first place, a comedy full of Attic salt, entitled *The Coffee-house*, in which he successfully ridicules the pieces now

matic authors here mentioned, we may rank with them some poets who write in other departments. Such are Don Juan Melandez, Don Juan Baptista de Ariaza, M. de Norona, &c. The reader who wishes to acquire more particulars on the subject of Spanish literature may consult the *Archives Littéraires*, Nos. XIX and following.

in fashion, and their authors. Soon after another comedy of his appeared of the higher cast, which approaches nearer the drama; this was *El viejo y la nina*, The Old Man and the Girl. Although the invention did not keep pace with the style, it met with success: but M. Comella, another young dramatic poet, believing himself to be the object of one of the characters in M. Moratin's first play, revenged himself by parodying his second in a pretty gay comedy, called *El abuelo y la nieta*, The Grandfather and Grand-daughter: this drew the laugh of the day on his side; and the Spanish public for some time was amused by these petty literary rivalries, but did not fail to do justice to the superiority of M. Moratin, who has since enjoyed new dramatic successes, amongst others in a charming piece, which would be applauded everywhere, *La Mogigata*, The female Hypocrite. M. Comella, on his part, although with inferior talents, has gathered some laurels on the Spanish stage. His *Hombre agradecido*, The grateful Man, was crowned with applause in 1804. What we have here seen is sufficient to show that the modern Spaniards are attentive to the improvement of their stage, which has long been fruitful in works of genius, but defective in taste; that some of her authors have studied with success the best models, and that the public is become more capable of appreciating them. All their dramatic writers, however, do not equally concur in forwarding this

reform. For some years past, M. Valadarez has been too well satisfied with the easy success he acquires in flattering the taste of the most numerous part of his audience by pieces full of brilliant machinery and show, where noise and stage trick make up all the interest, and which are more fit for a nation of children than for an enlightened one.

What will further contribute to retard this reform is, that even several of the learned of modern Spain are of opinion that it is by no means necessary, and defend with warmth the old Spanish stage; and, proud of the applause they received formerly from nations who were at that time in an age of darkness and bad taste, assert that it may still serve as an example; and even some of them repay with usury those nations, and particularly the French, the reproaches which the rest of Europe has a right to cast on them.

In 1749, Don Blas Nasure, librarian to the king of Spain, having printed the comedies of Cervantes, expressed himself in his preface to the collection in the following manner: "We "may affirm, without fear of falling into the "error our nation is reproached with, that of "estimating itself too highly, and despising others, "that we have a greater number of comedies, "perfect and conformable to the rules of art, "than the French, the English, or the Italians "put together."

Much more recently, in 1791, Don Pascal Rodriguez de Arellano proposed for subscription a work entitled *Theatro antiguo Espanol arreglado á los mas principales preceptos de arte dramatica*; in which he promised several plays or comedies of Calderon, of Lope de Vega, Solis, Moreto, Rozas, Hoz, and Tyrso, where the three unities are observed, that should be purged of the inflated and hyperbolical style, of vain subtleties, of a mixture of heroic and noble with vulgar and ridiculous personages, of inequality of character, of some episodes not very decent, and of some puns. He flattered himself that he could thus make the most solid apology for his nation in this branch of literature, and preserve in these works, notwithstanding so many suppressions and corrections, their force, their grace, and their original style. It belongs to the Spanish critics to judge whether he has kept his word.

But what will surprise a little more, at least a French reader, is, that a Spanish poet, otherwise much distinguished, a member of the Academy of Language, author of the tragedy of *Raquel*, of which we have spoken before, Don Vicente de la Huerta, who has been dead twelve or fifteen years, should express himself in the following manner of the master-pieces of French literature, in his preliminary discourse to his *Theatro Español*, which he published in 1785.—

"A single spark of fire that shines," he says,

" in this divine poem, *Pharsale*, would be suffi-
" cient to warm and enliven all the *debilitated* and
" *wretched Muses* of France; without excepting
" the Limosines, who being nearer Spain have
" for that reason perhaps felt, in some degree,
" the influence of the enthusiasm and true poetic
" spirit which characterize our nation.

" How is it possible," continues he, " that
" this divine fire could animate the souls of men
" born and brought up in a marshy country, with-
" out sulphur, without salt, or fertilty, and so
" little favoured by heat that their fruits would
" scarcely ripen did they not carefully place them
" in situations exposed to the full rays of the sun?
" This is the natural cause why so much medio-
" crity is observed in their works. The French,
" in poetry and eloquence, will never pass the mea-
" sure and standard of minds feeble and without
" vigour. From this also results their astonish-
" ment at the *great sublimity* of Spanish produc-
" tions, the faults of which, *if there be any*, are
" very easily corrected.

" The great Corneille was not esteemed by his
" countrymen till he had *ill imitated* a composi-
" tion, even below mediocrity, of one of our poor-
" est poets." (This is all the merit that M. de la Huerta allows the *Cid.)*

" The Athalia of Racine is reckoned his best
" piece; but is the greatest proof of the weak-
" ness" (I have the forbearance not to translate

the Spanish word *imbecilidad* by imbecility) "of "the genius of the author; because, without "mentioning the extraordinary number of actors, "buffoons, and the whole troop of performers, a "very common resource of those who are not ca- "pable of sustaining the plot and the movement "of an action without wounding probability, the "affected regularity, and *hellenism* even, by which "he contrives to supply *the want of genius*, prove "that the piece *should not have left the school to* "*which it belonged.*

"After this, can it be thought strange that this "hero of French poetry, after having been em- "ployed for three years in composing his Phæ- "dra, should have finished by spoiling the charac- "ter of Hippolytus? This whole tragedy shows "very considerable defects; and the least of these "is not the choice of an action so abominable "in the eyes of the least scrupulous and deli- "cate. I had formed, only by the reading, *a* "*very low idea* of the Phædra; but after having "seen the piece acted at Paris, where Made- "moiselle Dumesnil, a very celebrated actress, "played the part of Phædra, I was so shocked at "seeing decency and probability so outrageously "sacrificed in her declamation, *that I determined* "*never to see it again.*"—What a punishment for the author and the actress!

Don Juan Cadahalso (otherwise a very enlight- ened Spaniard, whom I knew in my first journey)

had already, before M. de la Huerta, treated with as much severity the style of the Phædra, when, speaking of the famous speech of Theramenes, he expressed himself as follows:—"There is in "this Phædra a pompous and inflated diction, of "the same nature as we find fault with in our "poor authors of the last century." To maintain this assertion, he translates this speech literally, "in order to show," says he, "the admirers of the French stage, that when their "authors attempt to imitate our sublime, they "should either translate us, or remain in a ridiculous dishonourable inferiority unknown only to themselves. Such is the sublimity of "Racine, a genius superior to all the Spanish "dramatic writers, in the opinion of the French, "&c."

La Huerta, in these critiques dictated by caprice, does not spare Moliere any more than our two great tragic writers. In a note which precedes *El castigo de la miseria*, one of the pretended master-pieces of Spain which he reprinted, he sets himself up against those who assert that this piece finishes at the second act, and adds, "It is "very extraordinary that those who find fault with "this, tolerate and admire the famous comedy of "*Tartuffe*, of which almost the whole of the first "and second acts might be cut off, and the fifth "entirely. This celebrated comedy, moreover, finishes like one of our interludes, and resembles

"them very much, with the exception of the in-"decencies it contains." We shall see below what these interludes are, and whether this comparison does much honour to the sagacity of M. de la Huerta.

It must, however, be left to foreigners who are judges of the Spanish stage to decide, whether blindness or malignity has dictated the judgement of this unpitying censor. But, without repaying injury with injury, we shall confine ourselves to the assertion, that those who have the least pretensions to taste, as well in Spain as elsewhere, agree that all the Spanish pieces, with the exception of a few modern, are full of the most shocking defects. The incidents are without probability, and they are full of impertinence; all kinds are confounded. They join the most miserable parade to affecting and sometimes terrible pictures; and a buffoon, under the name of *gracioso*, who is sometimes diverting, and often insipid, distracts the attention by his vulgar wit. The lovers are talking gossips. They try to purchase the smile of sensibility and delicacy by cold and tedious metaphysical dissertations on love. There is hardly one of these plays that does not contain speeches, or *relaciones*, similar, if you can agree with M. de la Huerta, to that of Theramenes, because, as he says, they are long and misplaced, but are particularly shocking by their digressions, gigantic comparisons, and by the most

absurd abuse of wit. On the other hand the plot is so intricate, that there is hardly a Spanish play to which these verses of Boileau are not applicable :

Et qui, débrouillant mal une pénible intrigue,
D'un divertissement ne fait qu'une fatigue.

This fatigue, however, does not seem to be felt by the Spanish auditors, those especially whose minds are least cultivated. Whether they owe to nature this readiness to follow the thread of the most intricate plot, or whether it is with them the result of habit, certain it is that they have in this respect a remarkable advantage over other nations, particularly over the French. It would, upon this account, require much art to naturalize on our stage the Spanish comedies, of which a great number indeed are worthy of adoption. This applause has been rendered them already by our forefathers. It is well known how much Moliere and Corneille have taken from the Spanish stage; that the latter drew from Guillen de Castro, and from Calderon, the subject and even the principal beauties of the *Cid* and of *Heraclius*; that the Spaniard furnished him with the subject of the *Menteur*, as well as Moliere with that of the *Festin de Pierre*: but all the talents of these men were not able to adapt to our stage with success the original extravagance that served them for a model; for none of these Spanish pieces could be represented in our the-

atres without alteration, so much are the best of them filled with incidents repugnant to French taste and manners. An actor of one of our small theatres in the capital has made some happy trials of this kind. But *Ruse contre ruse*, and *La Nuit aux aventures*, are less translations than faithful imitations of two Spanish comedies. An exact translation of these dramatic productions would indeed be nearly impossible. Duperron de Castera published, in 1738, *Extracts from several Spanish theatrical pieces, with observations, and a translation of the most remarkable passages.* Linguet more recently attempted to make the French public acquainted with some of these tragedies; but besides that he made a very bad choice, he understood the Spanish language too little to accomplish the task. These two authors, instead of a translation, have given us outlines or sketches of plays, of which what they disdained to give in French was not what they did not like, but did not understand; and I believe there is not a single Spanish piece correctly translated into our language. A great obstacle to the fidelity of these translations would arise from the number of puns with which the Spaniards have filled their drama, as well as all other works of imagination; and as their very subtile genius, ready to seize the slightest report, knows instantly how to make allusions to localities, to customs, and to the anecdotes of the times, these works are very difficult to be perfectly un-

derstood even by the natives, and nearly impossible by foreigners: their translations therefore would be hardly intelligible, unless by the help of a commentary.

The Spaniards, moreover, have ever had and still have a great readiness for poetry. Their talent for extempore, or *improviser*, although it perhaps deserves to be as much so, is less celebrated than that of the Italians. I have been several times witness of the surprising success with which this has been employed: and I have seen versificators, who were on other accounts little known, maintain poetical disputes which would have dismayed the most fertile and ingenious of our country. I have seen stanzas of ten verses composed in the twinkling of an eye, and all formed on the same rhyme; these are known in Spain by the name of *decimas*. One of the company present gives as a subject the last of these ten verses, which he invents at random, and which is called *echar pié*. The *improvisatore* instantly delivers nine others, to which the verse first composed shall make a proper finish; and often neither the rapidity of these extempore compositions nor the twofold shackles which confined their author are able to spoil them. They are mostly little pieces of burlesque, the emphatical delivery of which moves the gravest faces; and if good sense is sometimes sacrificed, the rules of versification are rigorously observed.

The forms of the poetry in Spain are varied to a singular degree. Their language, which is very easy of inversion, is capable of all sorts of verses* fit for the modern languages, but they have one which I believe is exclusively their own. Their rhyming verses are easily known as well by the eye as the ear; they are called *consonantes*. But those which they call *asonantes* would never be dreamt of but by those who had heard of them; and in this verse almost all their old plays are written from beginning to end, and most of the modern.

They commonly begin by a series of true verses (*consonantes*), either in common rhyme and with equal feet, or alternate rhyme and unequal measure. After a scene or two, sometimes only a speech or two, comes the turn of the *asonantes*, which generally last to the end of the piece, unless in some part the *consonantes* reappear for a little time. These *asonantes* are a string, often very long, of cadenced phrases subject to a certain

* They reckon three as distinct, though only with respect to their termination. They have *blank* verse; that is without any kind of rhyme, and which differs like the Latin from prose only in the number of the feet, and the orderly interchange of the long and short syllables. They have also verse with perfect rhyme, like that of the Italians, French, and other nations, which they call *consonantes*; and lastly they have that third sort of verse called *asonantes* mentioned in the text. I do not speak of the rhyme of these different sorts of verses; it varies *ad infinitum*, from the shortest measure to eleven syllables, which are the longest.

(*Note to the edition of* 1806.)

measure. Each of them is a verse, but the *asonante* returns only every other line, and makes no rhyme. It is sufficient that the two last vowels of each are the same. An example will make this explanation more clear. I will take it from a short copy of verses by Don Juan Melandez. It will serve at the same time to give a slight instance of the manner of this amiable poet, who in the tender style maintains, even by the acknowledgement of his rivals, the first rank on modern Spanish Parnassus.

On wine *.

1. Todo à Baco, Dorila,
2. Todo oficioso *sirve*.
3. La tierra generosa
4. Le sustenta las *vides*:
5. El agua se las riega
6. Con sus linfas *sutiles*:
7. Y el Cefiro templado
8. Se las brulla ap*a ci* bl*e*.
9. Luego el grano el sol cuece,
10. De do el licor fel*ice*
11. Viene que le pecho limpia
12. De mildesvelos tr*istes*.
13. Porque pues porque bebo
14. Enojosa me *riñes*!
15. Si el mismo amor sus armas
16. Riendo de èl rec*ibe*.

Translation.

* All, all, my Dorila, are eager to serve Bacchus. The fruitful earth supports his branches. The water refreshes them

At first sight it does not appear that there is any rhyme in these sixteen verses; nor indeed are there any throughout; and according to the rules of Spanish versification they should be without rhyme; though lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14 and 16, have something of the kind, which consists in their having the same last vowels, *i* and *e*; and these are the *asonantes*, *sirve*, *vides*, *sutiles*, &c. In this manner most of the theatrical pieces are written, except some modern tragedies in true rhyme. I open the first play of Canizares which comes to hand,—it is *Domine Lucas*, a comedy somewhat in the manner of Pourceaugnac, which the Spaniards call *Comedias de Figaron*. This is the beginning:

DON ANTONIO.

Vive Christo, Don Henrique,
que, si dais en ese tema
me he ahorcar de une encina.

DON HENRIQUE.

Don Antonio, yo qui si era
Saber de vos como se ama
sinque el corazon lo sepa.

TALAVERON.

Amando por diversion
que el que es (aunque hombre tan bestia. etc.

with a gentle tribute. The zephyr softly balances them. The sun ripens the berries from which is exprest the delightful liquor that banishes from our heart all baneful care. Even love itself, smiling at Bacchus, owes often to him the arms which it uses. Why then scold me when I drink a little?

It is not necessary to go so far as the eighth verse to see that the *asonante* which prevails is *e, a*; and you may be certain that every other line through several scenes will finish with an *e* and an *a*. In fact, in *Domine Lucas*, this *asonante e, a*, continues beyond the middle of the first act. After that follows the *asonante a, a*, that is to say, a series of words of this kind,—*raras, casa, plantas, probanza*, &c. which last to the end of the act.

Without being acquainted with this beforehand *, a foreigner might frequent the Spanish theatre for ten years without perceiving the existence or effect of the *asonantes*; and though he be put into the way, he will often have much trouble to trace them when he hears them on the stage. But what is so difficult for him to catch at, does not escape a Spaniard for an instant, however unlearned he may be. After the second verse of a long string of *asonantes*, he discovers the final vowels which govern; he listens at the proper places, and an actor would not with impunity disappoint him: this is a rare faculty, owing to the delicate organization of the people of the south, and to the habit of declamation which the most obscure and vulgar acquire. Persons of this sort act a considerable part in the Spanish theatre. Their number and assiduity,

* I have been a little particular on this singularity of the Spanish prosody, because I think it is little known out of Spain. (*Note to the edition of* 1806.)

indeed, are circumstances that render its reform difficult.

The play-houses in Spain have had as feeble beginnings as ours, and in some places still preserve their primitive form. Two parallel curtains facing the spectators composed all the scenery of the stage, and there are still some in this way. You see the prompter behind the second curtain with a candle in one hand and the book in the other, running across the stage, to give his assistance to any of the actors that want it. But in the present theatres of Madrid, and other large cities, the scenes, the change of decorations, and the place of the prompter, remind you nearly of ours. At first one is much offended with hearing the prompter, who repeats the parts almost as loud as the actors; but a little time makes this habitual, and in a few years you hardly take any notice of it.

The theatres are now divided into five parts. The *luneta*, which is the same as our *parquet*, and is fitted up in the same manner; the *aposentas*, which are the two rows of boxes at the top of the house; the *casuela*, a kind of gallery at the back, where no others are admitted but the wives of the people covered by their veils (which are for the most part white); but, under the auspices of Love, a fair intruder sometimes gets in, who wants to deceive the vigilance of a jealous husband; or some lazy dame of high-life who wants to save

the expense of a French toilette. *Las gradas*, another kind of gallery under the boxes, on both sides of which people sit who wish to be at their ease. The *patio*, which answers to our pit, but contains hardly any except the mob, with their vulgar manners, ignorance, and tatters. This part of the audience, which is standing, is always the most clamorous and difficult to please, as if it were their right to be so.

The actors often address themselves to these five classes of spectators under the name of *mosqueteros*, and lavish on them many stale epithets to gain their applause.

At Madrid the actors are divided between two theatres. For a long time they were known by the quarter of the town where they performed, such as *de la Cruz* and *del Principe*; but this last house wanting repairs, the company was removed to another theatre called *Caños del Peral*, which till then was little used, unless for concerts given by the *amateurs*, or other public entertainments, and where for some time the Italian opera had been performed. These two theatres make a common cause as to profit, but there is a rivalry between them as to talents. Each has a manager who is a player, and who every year discharges his company. The favourite actors then make their bargain with one of the managers, either with the most active or the most generous; and it may well be supposed that the *graciosos* are not forgotten

in this periodical change. The two managers agree to divide them, as also the first characters, for fear there should be too great an inequality in their company, by which both would be sufferers. However, all these talents, with few exceptions*, are more adapted for show, than to improve the stage of Thalia. Those who join to a graceful carriage force of sentiment and elegance of expression, those who in a word render the art of declamation the sister and the rival of the fine arts, are hardly dreamt of in Spain. The players, when

* The following character of them is founded on late remarks:—A young and pretty actress, called *La Rita*, has a striking voice, eyes full of expression, an excellent carriage, but is still too much in the old manner. A M. *Maïques*, who plays the lover, and has travelled with advantage to Paris and elsewhere, has much warmth and sometimes energy, and, as some have pronounced, is the *Talma* of Madrid. In less difficult parts an excellent *Figuron* is mentioned; in Spain the hero of the farce is so called; his name is *Quiral*, and he has acted for these twenty years with deserved applause. In the character of a *valet* or *gracioso*, old *Garrido* has for thirty years been able to entertain the Spanish capital, and to make his buffooneries go down. With respect to those that may be compared with our *pères nobles*, and who in Spain are called *Barba*, the talents of *Pinto* are much praised. In the lyric department the voice of *Bernardo Gil* is more likely to please than his acting, and in every country it would be admitted that the *Correas* are very agreeable singers. All the other actors and actresses resemble, more or less, the portrait I have drawn in the text.

(*Note to the edition of* 1806.)

they cannot give a servile imitation of the models before their eyes, know not how to create any from the imaginary but possible world, where every thing is noble without ceasing to be true. Awkward in their delivery and in their gesture, they lose all moderation, exaggerate every thing, disfigure every thing, and, instead of sparing their strength in order to obtain their end, exhaust it at once. Their impassioned women become furies, their heroes swagger, their conspirators become malefactors, and their tyrants butchers.

They are indeed at a great distance from a Clairon, a Le Kain, a Garrick, or a Siddons, and the players in Spain are nothing but hirelings, and admitted into society only in the same way as jugglers, who when they have amused for a moment are paid and sent away; whilst in other countries, where prejudice estimates them still less, the just admiration which some of them inspire, raises them to the level of men of talent and genius.

The Spaniards had at least in their old comedies examples of every virtue fit to be preached to the people; examples of loyalty, of firmness, of justice, of benevolence; and however disgusting the exaggeration of their pictures may be in many respects, one cannot see these representations without imbibing a disposition for performing the virtues they present. In the modern productions, on the contrary, (those we quoted above ex-

cepted,) not only common decency is disregarded, but images of immorality are presented without endeavouring to inspire horror for them. Plots of a son against his father, cruelty of husbands, infidelity of wives, and even conspiracies of malefactors go unpunished; all is risked by the authors, all is allowed by the police, and all is approved by the public. The consequences of this toleration are important, especially in Spain, where all classes of people frequent the play-house. The mob even seems to be the principal object to please; they predominate in the theatre, their humour must be gratified, their perverse taste must be flattered; and the tumultuous manner in which they express their gross feelings stifles the no less noisy voice of the more enlightened part of the audience; a singular thing this, in a despotic government, where the people otherwise are of so little account. May it not be inferred from hence, that there is even in the lowest class of this nation, a kind of fierceness, a feeling of independence which the long duration of absolute power has repressed, but has not yet annihilated?

One would suppose that persons whose age and profession made decorum an imperious part of their duty, would be careful not to appear at a theatre so grossly indecent; yet notwithstanding, young people of outward modest appearance, and even ecclesiastics whose grave manners and austere habit form such a contrast to the lessons of cor-

ruption and licentiousness given before them, are frequently present. A wise heathen instantly quitted the theatre at Rome, for fear his presence should countenance its improper exhibitions. The Spanish priests, intolerant on the most trifling subjects, are not so scrupulous with respect to the interests of virtue. Apostles of religion! have they no concern with morals? or are they ignorant that without morality religion is nothing but a deception and a scourge? Let them contribute to purify the play-house, and their presence will be forgiven.

In order to succeed in reforming the stage, a concurrence of circumstances would be necessary, which is still wanting in Spain. It would in the first place require that the sovereign should take some interest in its success. Louis XIV knew and protected Moliere, and presided himself at the most splendid festivals, of which theatricals always made a principal part. Why was the stage so flourishing in the time of Philip III and IV, which in other respects was the epocha of the decline of Spain? Because these princes encouraged the dramatic writers by praise and rewards; because they were pleased with theatrical entertainments.

The kings of the new dynasty, although they have done well in discarding the dull models, have not like their predecessors encouraged and protected the Spanish stage. Philip V was religious, and loved a retired life. Ferdinand VI

liked the arts of Italy better than those of Spain. Charles III appeared to encourage the other arts; he built the *Caserta*, explored the ruins of Herculaneum, protected the pencil of Mengs, embellished with many buildings the capital of Spain; but he showed if not an aversion to the stage at least a complete indifference, and Charles IV has not had time as yet to work out the regeneration which every lover of the stage waits with impatience. Their minister Florida Blanca seemed to set himself up as the protector of the theatre in the capital; but he rather partook of than opposed the taste of the nation.

This part of the police is in Madrid divided between the *corregidor*, the members of the town-house and the *alcaldes de corte*. But the limits of their jurisdiction are ill defined; and from the uncertainty in their powers result the irregularities which every one of their inspectors sees, but which no one of them singly has the power to repress. Each of the three or four censors, under whose cognisance every new piece should come, depends on the rigidity of his colleagues; and their concurrence even is not sufficient to repel those productions which too often wound propriety no less than taste. Add to this, that these examiners are often infected with the general contagion; and it would require more spirit than they possess, abruptly to tear the favourite objects of affection from the people, and to withstand the solicitations

of the players, whose receipts would materially suffer by such a sudden reform.

M. Olavidé, whose active mind would have embraced all the different branches of administration and police, had begun at least to bring about some reform in the scenery, the costume, and the art of declamation; and this is one of the faults which his enemies imputed to him at the time of his disgrace.

There have been however, in the reign of Charles III., some examples of this spirit of reform, which cannot be too much practised in order to polish the Spanish nation. The *autos sacramentales*, in which angels, saints, and personified virtues played their parts to the scandal of religion and reason, have been entirely done away; in these compositions Calderon had employed all his capricious imagination. Some other pieces have likewise been prohibited, such as *Los zelos de san Josef*, and particularly *Le Diable prédicateur*; two dramas at the same time of a sacred and burlesque cast, in which ingenious devotion seems formerly to have found subjects of edification.

A revolution has also taken place in the mechanical part of the theatre. At Madrid, at least, the scenery is better understood, the costume is less distant from truth, and we no longer see (if ever it was seen, as the dashing impostor of *Le Voyage de Figaro* asserts), we no longer see on the Spanish

stage *Orosman* in a *morning gown*, and *Zaïra* in a *pet-en-l'air*. There are still many other incongruities, to ridicule which would require no invention. In Spain, as well as in Italy, the actors when they are on the stage cast their eyes towards the boxes, and *graciously* smile at the persons they know; and when at the end of a long speech they have received an abundance of applause, they turn to the audience and show their gratitude by a low bow. These are defects which are peculiar to individual players; the following belongs to the stage itself.

You see sometimes one or more actors leaving the stage entirely, and going to seat themselves in a box, from whence a dialogue is begun between them and the other characters. I know a piece in which this extravagance is carried still further. It is one of those heroic comedies where Moors and Spaniards are represented making war, and where they belabour one another with eloquent abuse. One of the Moorish generals not being able to get in on any side towards the enemy, to whom he had a menacing challenge to deliver, he comes into the pit on horseback, and from thence harangues the Spaniards.

And what can be said of the way in which a strange custom has interlarded their most serious comedies with short interludes that have not the least connexion with them? I mean those modern farces which the Spaniards call *saynetes* or *inter-*

mes, pieces of one act, as simple in their plot as their plays are intricate. The humours of the day, the manners of the inferior classes of society, their customs, and the petty interests that unite and divide them, are here represented with the most scrupulous fidelity. You think that the fruit-woman or the porter you have seen in the street is before you; their gestures, their manners, and their language are so accurate.

The Spaniards do not appear to feel that simple nature may be embellished without ceasing to be true, and that herein consists the merit of imitation. The same observations may be made on the productions of the greatest masters of their school in painting. Look at the shepherds, the young peasants of Velasquez, or even of Murillo:—they are to fine painting what the *saynetes* are to the dramatic art, striking but disgusting in their resemblance.

The Spanish comedians have a wonderful talent for this sort of character. If they could throw as much nature into their other pieces, they would be the first actors in Europe.

The *saynetes* seem to be invented only to give a respite to the attention of the auditors, who are fatigued with following the long plays in their inextricable labyrinth; but their most certain effect is, that the thread is wholly lost, for it very rarely happens that the old Spanish plays are represented without interruption. There is scarce

any exception, indeed, but with the new pieces, either original or translations, in which it was thought proper that more regularity should exist. All the old and most of the modern are written in those acts which are called *jornadas*. After the first act the *saynete* begins; and if the warrior, or king, who has been just seen covered with a helmet or a diadem, should have a part in the interlude, he sometimes retains a part of his noble costume. His scarf and his buskins are visible under the dirty cloak of a common man, or the gown of an alcalde.

When the *saynete* is finished, the great piece continues. At the end of the second act a fresh interruption ensues, still longer than the first;—another *saynete* followed by a kind of short comic opera, called *tonadilla*. Sometimes a single actress does the whole. She appears, and either sings or says an insipid story, or relates some light tale of gallantry, solicits in retiring the applause of the audience, and at last suffers the third act to begin.

What becomes of the illusion and the interest after such interruptions? It is not rare to see, when the *tonadilla* is finished, many auditors disappear without waiting for the third act of the principal piece.

The *saynetes* and the *tonadilla* are frequently in this ridiculous medely the most attractive part of the representation. After being some time in

Spain, a foreigner even attaches a great value to them; for the manners, habits, customs, and music are new to him, and all bear the national stamp. Besides, two kinds of beings peculiar to the country are constantly seen represented, of which the copies and even the originals please the Spaniards very much. These are the *majos* and the *majas* on one part, and the *gitanos* and the *gitanas* on the other.

The *majos* are a kind of fops of the lower sort, or rather swaggerers, whose grave and cold self-importance is seen in all their exterior. The face half covered with a cap of brown stuff called *montera* denotes a character of stern severity, which appears to brave every thing, and is not even softened by the presence of a mistress. The agents of justice hardly dare to attack them; and if an attempt is made to take them even by good words, an impatient gesture and a fierce look, and sometimes a long rapier hid under the cloak, admonish that you may not take liberties with impunity.

For their part, the *majas* counteract these caprices as much as the weakness of their means will permit. Language, attitudes, walk, all have in them a perfect air of effrontery and licentiousness; but if you are not over scrupulous as to the means of exciting voluptuousness, you may find in them the most seductive priestesses that ever attended the altar of Venus; their alluring charms inflame the senses of even the wisest, and promise at least

pleasure if they do not inspire love. The most indulgent spectators lament that the *majos* and *majas* were thus brought on the stage, and preserve their attractions in the midst of the best company. There are in both sexes persons of distinguished rank, those who choose their models amongst the heroes of the populace, adopt their customs, their manners, their way of speaking, and appear flattered when the resemblance is found perfect.

With respect to the *gitanos* and *gitanas*, they are a kind of gipsies that go about the country, lead a dissolute life, tell fortunes, have a language and signs peculiar to themselves, and, like others, have a roguish turn, and take people in cunningly. This class of people, of whom society should long since have been purged, has been tolerated there however till now, and on the stage they act parts striking from their originality, but the effect of which is to make vice familiar by decorating it with the flowers of mirth. They are, it may be said, the shepherds of the Spanish stage, less insipid to be sure, but less innocent also, than ours. Their knavish tricks, their plots, and their amorous intrigues, of a piece with their morals, are the subjects of several *saynetes* and *tonadillas*, and in this school more than one of the spectators is formed.

Such is the national stage of modern Spain. There are play-houses in most of the principal cities, and it may be easily supposed they are still

more defective than those in the capital. What then must the strolling players be who are called *comicos de la legua*, and travel from one town to another with the rags that serve them for scenery; barns and stables being the places where they show their talents? The heroes of Scarron are at least pleasant, but these inspire nothing but disgust. After the death of Ferdinand IV, who had an Italian opera at his court, there was for some time nothing but the national theatre. The marquis de Grimaldi, at the decease of Charles III, re-established a similar representation, which disappeared again when he retired. Towards the end of his reign, this prince had one established in his capital. The principal hospitals there at first defrayed the expenses and enjoyed the profits; but this establishment becoming burthensome to them, they gave it up to the direction of proprietors, most of them grandees of Spain, who could only continue it for a few years by making considerable sacrifices; and it was at last abandoned. Both serious and comic operas were performed; the decorations were superb and the dresses magnificent: the ballets were very good. The Spanish actors have had these models, and it appeared they approved of them; but notwithstanding the representations of their pieces have gained nothing. They are therefore incurable.

As to French theatres, they have been for a long time entirely banished from Spain. Towards

the middle of the reign of Charles III there was one established at Cadiz, but the undertakers of it were ruined, and the thing given up: more recently it was proposed to have one at Madrid. The ambassador La Vauguyon appeared to take great interest in it. The devout caballed, they pretended that the French pieces contained maxims of toleration which breathed too much of the new philosophy. They counted thirteen heresies in the play of *Pygmalion* alone. Besides, the general hospital, whose revenues are greatly increased by contributions from the two Spanish theatres, expressed their fears lest they should diminish. The king yielded to the combined clamours of scruple and of charity, and the project was given up. Translations of several of our pieces, however, have appeared, and Madrid will not long be without a French theatre.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of bull-fights.

AT the head of the entertainments that belong almost exclusively to the Spanish nation, must be placed a spectacle for which it has still an unbounded attachment, whilst it is repugnant to the delicacy of the rest of Europe; I mean the bull-fights*.

Many of the Spaniards still see in them the means of cherishing the energy which characterizes their nation. One might however ask them, what connexion there is between strength and courage, and an exhibition where the spectators

* They were at length prohibited in 1805, not without exciting the regret of that part of the nation, which, although the most numerous, is so easy to govern when you oppose with firmness the empire of its habits or its caprices. This spirited reform does honour to the reign of Charles IV, and proves the wisdom of his prime minister. Every thing will gain by it, industry, agriculture, and morals. We shall notwithstanding leave our description of them as they existed before. It may perhaps satisfy the curiosity of those who never saw them, and probably never will see them. To those who regret them, they will perhaps have the same kind of value which we affix to the portraits of deceased friends.

run not the least danger, and where the actors prove by the rarity of accidents that theirs is not sufficient to excite a great interest. I know very well that the exaggeration with which they are commonly related, represents these accidents as rather frequent. The horsemen indeed, when overthrown, receive sometimes considerable bruises; but during nine years that I have frequented bull-fights, I have known only one *torreador* who died of his wounds. However, at all events, a priest with the holy oil is present in a grated box: and if the accidents were as frequent as they are rare, they would only familiarise the spectators with the effusion of blood, and with the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, but would not teach them how to suffer pain and face danger. They might make them hard-hearted and cruel, but not firm and courageous.

There is another proof that this spectacle does not influence the morals of those who frequent it. Young ladies, old men, people of all ages and of all characters are present, and yet the habit of attending these bloody festivals does not correct their weakness or their timidity, nor injure the sweetness of their manners. I have moreover known foreigners distinguished by the gentleness of their manners, who experienced at first seeing a bull-fight such very violent emotions as made them turn pale, and they became ill; but, notwithstanding, this entertainment became after-

wards an irresistible attraction, without operating any revolution in their character.

These bull fights are very expensive, but of great consequence to the undertakers. The least places cost two or four reals, according as they are in the sun or in the shade; the price of the dearest is twenty-four reals. When the cost of horses and bulls and the salary of the *torreadors* are deducted, the remainder of the receipt is commonly applied to pious foundations. At Madrid it makes one of the principal revenues of the general hospital.

These bull-fights seldom take place except in summer, because the animals are then most vigorous, and the season permits the show in the open air. Privileged casts are condemned to this kind of sacrifice. A list is distributed to the spectators, in which are given the number and the country of the victims whose torments are to serve for their amusement.

The arena is a kind of circus, round which are placed a score of seats one above another, the highest of which only is covered; the boxes are in the upper part of the building. In some towns which have not places spaciously appropriated for these combats, the principal square is used for the fight. It is indeed a very striking sight, to see all the inhabitants assemble around this circus, waiting the signal for the fight, and wearing in their exterior every sign of impatience.

The entertainment begins with a kind of promenade round the arena, where appear on horseback as well as on foot the athletic heroes who are to be matched with the furious animals, all dressed in the elegance of Spanish costume; the *picadores* wear a round hat, half covered with a short cloak, of which the sleeves float loose in the air; they are seated in their saddle, and have, instead of boots, only gaiters made of white leather; those on foot wear a dress very similar, but more light and costly; both have a short waistcoat of silk, of a bright colour, trimmed with ribbons, a scarf of another colour, and their hair put in a large net of silk, the fringes of which descend below the waist.

When this promenade is over, one or two alguazils on horseback, dressed in a black robe and a wig, advance gravely, and ask of him who presides at the festival (either the governor or the corregidor) the order for beginning it. The signal is then given: immediately, the animal, which has hitherto been kept in a kind of shed, the door of which opens into the arena, appears: (see Plate VIII. No. 1.) the agents of Themis, who have no quarrel with him, prudently hasten their retreat; and their fright, which is increased by their being commonly very ill mounted, is the prelude to the cruel pleasure the spectators are going to enjoy.

The bull is received and stunned by their cries and the noisy expressions of their joy. He is im-

mediately to defend himself against the combatants on horseback, *picadores*, who attack him with a long lance. (Plate VIII. No. 2.) This exercise, which requires at once address, strength, and courage, has nothing disgraceful in it. Formerly the first grandees did not disdain to partake of it; even at this time some *hidalgos* crave still the honour of combating the bull on horseback.

The *picadores* open the scene: often the bull, without being provoked, flies at them; and every body augurs favourably of his valour. If, in spite of the weapon which repulsed his attack, he return again immediately to the charge (Plate IX. No. 3 and 4.) the cries redouble; it is no longer pleasure, it is enthusiasm: but if the bull, in a pacific, confounded, and cowardly manner, sneaks round the place, the murmurs and hissings fill the whole edifice. All those within whose reach he comes, shower upon him curses and blows. He appears a common enemy who has to expiate a great crime. If nothing can excite his courage, he is judged unworthy to be tormented by men, and the cries of *perros, perros*, (the dogs, the dogs) redouble, and his enemies increase. Enormous large dogs are let loose on him, who get hold of his neck and ears. The animal finds his natural arms again; (Plate XIII. No. 12.) the dogs are thrown into the air, fall down again stupefied, and sometimes mangled, into the arena; they

get up again, recommence the combat, and finish in common by dragging their antagonist to the ground, where he perishes by an ignoble blow. But if he conducts himself according to the wishes of the spectators, he runs a more glorious, but a longer and more painful, career. The first act of this tragedy belongs to the combatants on horseback: these are the most animated, the most bloody, and often the most disgusting scenes.

The animal being irritated braves the iron that has deeply wounded him, flies on the innocent horse that carries his enemy, tears his sides, and throws him and his rider to the ground, (Plate X. No. 5.) who in this crisis would run great risk, if the combatants on foot, called *chulos*, did not distract and provoke the bull by holding before him some stuffs of different colours. But it is at their own hazard they save the riders. Sometimes the bull pursues them; they have then need of all their agility; they escape by dropping some pieces of stuff, which are their only arms, and upon which the rage of the deceived animal is exhausted. Sometimes he is not thus arrested, and the combatant has no other resource but to leap over the railing, which is six feet high, and encloses the arena. In some places this enclosure is double, and the space between the two railings is a kind of circular corridor, behind which the pursued *torre-*

ador has nothing more to fear. Sometimes the bull clears the first railing, but urged by his irritation he turns in the corridor until he finds an outlet, which leads him to dangers, to torments, and to death. When the railing is single, and he clears it with a vigorous leap, a lively alarm seizes the spectators that are near. Their precipitation in escaping and getting to the upper part makes them sometimes run more risks than the bull, who, stumbling at every step on this unequal ground, is more intent on saving than avenging himself, and soon falls under the blows he receives.

If this does not happen, and which is very seldom, he remains in his place. The overthrown horseman has had time to get up again. He remounts if his horse is not too much wounded, and the combat begins anew, but he is often obliged to change horses several times. I have seen eight and ten horses torn, and their bellies ripped open, fall and expire in the field of battle. Expressions are wanting to celebrate the prowess which becomes the most favourite topic of conversation for some days. Sometimes these horses, affecting models of patience, or courage, and of docility, present a spectacle at which it may be allowable to shudder. You see them tread under their feet their own bloody entrails hanging out of their open sides, and still obey for some time the hand that guides them. Disgust at this period of the combat overpowers every sen-

sation of pleasure in the minds of spectators of sensibility.

But another act is preparing. When it is judged that the bull is sufficiently tormented by the horsemen, they retire, and deliver him to the barbarous *teasings* of those on foot. These go before the animal, and, at the moment he rushes upon them, plunge in his neck, by two and two, a species of arrows, called *banderillas*, terminating in a barb, and ornamented with little streamers of coloured paper, (Plate X. No. 6, and Plate XI. No. 7.) The fury of the bull increases, he roars, is agitated, and his vain efforts serve only to render his pains more poignant. This last torture shows the agility of his new tormentors in a favourable light. At first you tremble for them when you see them brave, so near, the horns of this dreadful animal; but their experienced hands are so sure when they strike, they escape the danger so easily, that after a few rounds their dexterous manœuvres appear nothing more than a light episode of the tragedy, of which the following is the denouement.

When the vigour of the bull appears nearly exhausted, when the blood that flows from twenty wounds down his neck, moistening his huge flanks, and the impatience of the people calls for another victim, the president then gives the signal of death, which is announced by the flourish of trumpets. The *matador* advances and reigns alone in the arena; (Plate XI. No. 8.) in one hand

he holds a long sword, and in the other a kind of banner which he waves before his adversary. They are now face to face; they stop, they look at one another. The *matador* several times deceives the impetuosity of the bull; and the suspended pleasure of the spectators becomes more lively. Sometimes the bull remains stationary; tears the ground with his hoofs, and seems meditating vengeance. The bull in this situation, the matador calculating his movements, and divining his purposes, form a picture which a masterly pencil could not disdain. The spectators respect this mute scene by a profound silence. The matador at last strikes the mortal blow, (Plate XII. No. 9.) and if the animal falls instantly, thousands of cries celebrate the triumph of the conqueror: but if the bull survives, the murmurs are no less tumultuous. The *torreador*, whose glory was about to be raised to the skies, is now no more than a bungling butcher. He soon takes revenge, and his blind fury carries him often so far as to make you tremble for his life. At last he strikes a more decided blow, the animal vomits streams of blood, struggles with death, totters, falls, (Plate XII. No. 10.) and his conqueror is inebriated with applause. Three mules, ornamented with bells and streamers, finish the scene. (Plate XIII. No. 11.) The bull is fastened by those horns that showed his valour; the furious and noble animal is ignominiously dragged out of

the arena, and leaves no traces behind him but his blood and a slight remembrance, which is soon obliterated by the appearance of his successor.

Each of the days appropriated to these festivals, (at least at Madrid) six are immolated in the morning and twelve in the afternoon. The last are delivered exclusively to the *matador*, without any assistance from the *picadores*, and he shows his ingenuity in varying the pleasures of the spectators. Sometimes he makes them fight with some intrepid stranger, who attacks them mounted on another bull; sometimes they are made to meet bears. The points of their horns are covered with a round substance, which diminishes the danger of their blows. In this state, the bull, which is called *embolado*, loses the power of piercing and tearing. The amateurs descend in crowds to torment him, each in his own way, and often pay for their cruel sport with violent contusions; but the bull always falls by the hand of the *matador*.

The few spectators who do not partake in this general rage, regret that this unhappy animal does not purchase at least his life, at the expense of such torments and such efforts of courage, and would willingly assist him to escape his persecutors. With these spectators disgust succeeds to compassion, and ennui to disgust. This series of uniform scenes causes the interest which this ex-

tertainment promised at the beginning to become languid. It recalls to memory what Pliny the younger says, in speaking of the games of the circus: *Nihil novum, nihil varium, nihil quod non semel spectasse sufficiat.* But as for the connoisseurs who have thoroughly studied all the arts of the hall, the resources of his address and his fury, the different ways of provoking him, of deceiving him, of tormenting him—(and this is in some provinces a study from infancy)—for the connoisseurs, I say, none of these scenes resemble one another, and they pity the poor observers who do not know how to distinguish all these varieties.

A master worthy to compose a didactic poem on this subject, apparently so steril and yet so fruitful, the famous torreador *Pepehillo**, published in 1796 a treatise entitled *La Tauromaquia, o arte de Torrear, a piè y a caballo*; *a very useful work*, as is said in the title, *for the torreadors by profession, and for the amateurs, unique in its kind, and acceptable to the public.* It may be said of this work that the author thoroughly understands his subject.

Indeed, in this as well as in any other career, party spirit distributes reputations, questions or exaggerates success. During my first residence in Madrid, the amateurs were divided between

* He died four years ago, and, it may be said, on the bed of honour. He fell a victim to a bull which he was going to immolate; this is the second in thirty years.

two famous matadors, *Costillares* and *Romero*, as elsewhere between two celebrated actors. Each party was as loud in its praises, as positive in its decisions, as ever with us were the *Gluckists* and the *Piccinists*. It will be believed with difficulty that the art of killing a bull, which seems to be exclusively the business of a butcher, should be gravely discussed and exalted with transport, not only by the people, but by men of sense, by women of delicacy. But let us not from this draw any unfavourable induction of the Spaniards. Notwithstanding their ungovernable taste for the bull fight, notwithstanding the barbarous pleasure they enjoy in seeing the blood of these innocent and courageous animals, they are no less susceptible of all the feelings of goodness and humanity. On their return from these entertainments, they relish not the less the tranquillity of home, the overflowing of friendship, and the delights of love; and their courage is not become more ferocious. In the century when single combats and assassinations were more frequent, they were no more attached to this spectacle than at present. Their manners are softened without this passion being diminished, which is still in its greatest fervour. The day of a bull-fight is a day of solmnity for all the canton. The people come from ten and twelve leagues distance. The artisan who can with difficulty earn enough for his subsistence, has always sufficient to pay for the bull-fight. Woe be to the chastity of a young girl whose poverty ex-

cludes her! The man who pays for her admittance will be her first seducer.

Under Charles III the government had felt the inconvenience of this kind of phrensy, as a source of the irregularities and dissipation of a people whom he wished to recall to industry; and as an injury to agriculture, by depriving it yearly of so many valuable instruments of cultivation. The king had personally an aversion to the bull-fights, and made successive attempts to wean the nation from them. His minister Florida Blanca entered into his views. They began to reduce the number of these fights in the country towns. At Madrid none but debilitated bulls were suffered to be baited; and this entertainment began to lose its principal attraction; but it was foreseen it would be revived under the reign of Charles IV.

There is in Spain another entertainment which is a feeble image of the true bull-fight. It is called *fiesta de novillos*. There the young bull, destined not to die, but to grow up for pleasures less innocent, tries his growing horns in the dangerous business for which he is reserved, and is delivered up to the provocations of a crowd of amateurs unexperienced as himself. The prince and the princess of Asturias not daring openly to oppose the taste of the old Charles III, took the liberty of being present, as by stealth, at these parodies of the grand scene; and from thence it was conjectured they would patronize them. The beginning of their reign justified this conjecture. For a long

while none of the festivals called *fiestas reales* had been given them by the court of Madrid. There were bull-fights for which the *plaza mayor* served as a stage. The military attendants of the king were present to preserve order. His halberdeers on foot formed the interior circle of the scene; and their long arms presented were the only barriers to the curvettings of the bulls. There had been only one of these fêtes during the last reign, and they were thought abolished. But the crowning of the new king furnished an occasion to revive them. From that time the bull-fights are again come into favour, and permission has been granted to those towns that wished to reestablish them with an intention of applying the profits to charitable purposes. Those in the capital are become worthy of exciting the enthusiasm that began to diminish. Since 1789 more animating and more sanguinary fêtes have been given than for many years before, and more than once a single bull has remained in the arena after having ripped open the bellies of all the horses, and wounded most of the combatants.

There are then still in Spain two institutions *, of which the Spaniards are very tenacious; two institutions between which there is more than one point of contact.

Both inspire a kind of terror in those who defend them.

* One of the two exists no more, as has been said in a preceding note. When may we say as much of the other?
(*Note to the edition of* 1805.)

Both are barbarous; one with respect to morals, and the other with respect to opinions.

Neither ought to have any apologists but executioners, and yet christian charity is the motive and excuse for both. By one, faith is armed with rigour against incredulity; and from the produce of the other, charity is enabled to assist the unfortunate.

One operates as a check to the improvement of agriculture, and the other is the greatest obstacle to sound philosophy.

Is it necessary to say that one is the Inquisition, and the other the bull-fights?

I shall thus conclude my observations concerning the manners and taste of the Spanish nation, and of my long residence in Madrid. After this impartial view of the customs, the pleasures, and the resources of this capital, it will easily be granted, that when a foreigner has acquired the language, which is not difficult, if he wishes to introduce himself in the Spanish circles, which are very accessible; when he is familiarised with the manners of the country, which have their singularities, but are in no way disgusting; or if he has nothing to solicit at Madrid but the good graces of some amiable Spanish lady, he may pass his time as agreeably in this capital as in any other place in Europe.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Richard Taylor and Co., Shoe Lane